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JPRS-NEA-85-099

31 July 1985

Near East/South Asia Report

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD MOVEMENT

IN SUDAN, 1944-1969

19980226 168

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31 July 1985

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD MOVEMENT IN SUDAN, 1944-1969

Khartoum HAKAKAT AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMIN FI AL-SUDAN, 1944-1969 in Arabic 1982 pp 1-156

[Book "The Muslim Brotherhood Movement in the Sudan, 1944-1969" by Hasan Makki Muhammad Ahmad, issued by the African and Asian Studies Institute, Khartoum University, Occasional Monograph Series, No 16, 1982, 156 pp]

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STUDY REVIEWS DOMESTIC HISTORY OF MUSLIM BROTHERS

Khartoum HARAKAT AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMIN FI AL-SUDAN, 1944-1969 in Arabic 1982

[Book "The Muslim Brotherhood Movement in the Sudan, 1944-1969" by Hasan Makki Muhammad Ahmad, issued by the African and Asian Studies Institute, Khartoum University, Occasional Monograph Series, No 16, 156 pp]

[Text] In the Name of God the Most Merciful the Most Compassionate:

Foreword

The Institute of African and Asian Studies has followed a course of encouraging scholarly research in the area of Islamic and Asian studies and has continued to be concerned to publish competent research works which are of help in understanding historic and social development in the Sudan in particular and in Africa and Asia in general.

On this occasion I am happy to present the reader with a distinguished, profound study, submitted as part of the general examination for the receipt of the diploma of the Institute of African and Asian Studies, concerning the movement of the Muslim Brothers. The interest in this research work lies in two areas:

First, in terms of the subject of the study, it reveals a political movement on which necessary objective study has not been made available. Indeed, nothing has yet been published on the movement of the Moslem Brothers in the Sudan although some studies have on the same movement in other countries.

The other area of interest is that we in the institute found this study to be so objective that it deserved to be published, so that it could be accessible to general readers who are interested in understanding the history of the Sudan and political affairs.

In conclusion, I salute the writer of the thesis, thank the people who helped bring it out, and ask God that it be of use to students and readers.

[Signed] Yusuf Fadl Hasan
Director of the Institute of African and Asian Studies

Thanks and Acknowledgment

The reader and I must thank Prof Yusuf Fadl Hasan, who was enthusiastic about this study from the beginning, took part in guiding it and crowned the honor he bestowed by advocating its publication. Thanks are also to be directed to Prof Muhammad 'Umar Bashir, who supervised the followup of preparation of the study in all its stages, as well as the family of the Institute of African and Asian Studies and our brothers Sayf-al-Din Muhammad Ahmad, 'Abd-al-Mahmud Nur al-Da'im and Amin Hasan 'Umar for their valuable assistance on behalf of the completion of this study. Thanks are also directed to Dr Hasan al-Turabi for his personal interest and his careful review of the study. I also thank the people from whose time we squeezed out long hours of discussion, controversy and close examination of views in private meetings and open discussions at study sessions.

We ask God that he be beneficial to all and bless them and us.

Introduction

In the name of God the most merciful and most compassionate: prayers and peace to his prophet Muhammad, who offers guidance to the straight path.

The issue of adherence to Islamic law and the quest for the arbitration of religion in the private and public affairs of Muslims continues to be a relevant subject which preoccupies individual Muslims throughout their lives, just as it preoccupies Muslims eternally. It remains a focal question whose echo is repeated morning and evening, since it leads to consequences related to the terrestrial world and the hereafter inasmuch as, to the devout, the subject ultimately is paradise or hell, faith or apostasy -- who is more knowing, you or God?

As is well known, Muslims, starting with the 17th century, began to confront a series of challenges which had their culture and systems of life as their target. Since Muslims were not prepared for these circumstances and new variables, beginning with the challenge of colonialism and ending with the question of re-establishing their systems of life anew in accordance with Western or other patterns, the answer has assumed different forms, from people who call for the adoption of Western civilization, with its good and its evils, to people who are in agreement, people who act out of provocation and people who call for a return to Islam.

The Islamic movement in the Sudan -- the Muslim Brothers -- constitutes part of the last group. It has chosen the arena of actual conditions in order to give concrete form to its thinking and its platforms and it has not been content with theorizing in detachment. This work of research is an attempt to bring out this movement's history and statements for the sake of determining its status in the context of the Islamic renaissance and renewal.

At the end of the forties, the Sudanese Islamic movement rose to the fore in response to a profound appeal. It came into being from within the Sudanese student movement, in response to deeper needs from Sudanese society, as a genuine, independent movement which was a living, evolved, renewed extension

of the movement of Islam in the Sudan and an intellectual and political alternative to various forms of factional and ideological fragmentation, dissension and dissolution. It came into being under the name of the Islamic Liberation Movement but as an Islamic movement it had no recourse but to develop in a manner receptive to everything that was Islamic and everyone who made the appeal to Islam in the local and international frameworks. Therein lies the proper explanation of its choice of the designation of Muslim Brothers. One of this movement's distinctive features is that its options, designations and programs took concrete form on the ground of actual conditions and matured under the touchstone of experience. Therefore, each stage of its life bore the features and effects of that stage. In the period between 1948 and 1954, the student element predominated in the movement, and it was deeply involved in purging the university and higher educational institutes of Communism and destructive principles and providing the circumstances for settling on Islam and advancing it as a cultural and political solution.

In the period 1954-58, the movement expanded as its pioneers graduated and turned outward to the society. The movement absorbed Sudanese students who had graduated from the universities of Egypt and had fully absorbed the experience of the Socialist Party there. The movement of the Muslim Brothers (Egypt's branch in the Sudan) also absorbed all but a few movement leaders who had grown up in the second half of the forties. In addition, starting in 1954, the movement changed its name and assumed the name of the Muslim Brothers, subjecting it to a tangential rift headed by some leaders of the Socialist Party (1). At that time, that brought them the ridicule of the true bearers of the name who had considered themselves an extension of the Egyptian Society of the Muslim Brothers by law and membership (2). However, time resolved the dispute on behalf of the movement in its new formulation, and the movement proceeded to embody the role of a society which was bringing pressure to bear to effect an Islamic transformation. It also proceeded constantly to participate in the realm of political enlightenment, proceeding from the premises of Islam, in all the contexts in the Sudan. It also aroused the attention of the leaders and masses toward the issues of the Islamic constitution and the construction of the Islamic republic, the Islamic society and other social alternatives. It also sought to forge Islamic organizations into a comprehensive front which made its appearance under the name of the Islamic Front.

In the period 1958-1964, with senior army officers' monopolization of the right of political action by means of the 17 November military coup, the movement retrenched somewhat and turned in part to secret action, until almighty glorious God decreed that it should pursue a prominent role in bringing down the first military dictatorship, preparing the circumstances for a new takeoff which moved it from the stage of a society imposing pressure to the stage of political activity, starting in 1965, when one of the

(1) They were Babakr Karrar, Dardiri Ibrahim, Mirghani al-Nasri, Ahmad al-Tayyib Hawjuf [sic], Ahmad 'Abd-al-Majid and 'Abdallah Zakariya.

(2) 'Ali Talaballah, basically, who was a representative of Egypt's movement in the Sudan.

movement's concerns became that of creating a qualitative change in its organizational and intellectual frameworks which would be in keeping with their cultural and political influence and its quest to obtain a share of political power and would push it to create the social and political transformation it wished. However, before its effort was accomplished, the Sudan entered a new stage with the assumption of political power by junior officers, their suspension of the temporary constitution and their dissolution of all parties, with the result that a new stage in the history of the Sudan began, outside the time frame of this work of research.

The movement of the Muslim Brothers presents itself as an Islamic society headquartered in the Sudan and as an Islamic movement of renewal and consultation which combines authenticity with modernity and the al-Salafiyah movement and individual theorizing with the pursuit of revolution and reform. It is Islamic because it sets forth from the holy book and the sayings and doings of the prophet, adopts Islamic law and fights for its application. It is a movement of renewal because it seeks to modernize the affairs of religion. It is a movement of consultation because in its theoretical and scholarly quest it is governed by consultation and collective leadership in the context of the organization's agencies and movement in general; therefore consultation, in the literature of the society, is binding and decisive.

The research work consists of four parts. The first part deals with the history of the movement from its earliest days in the middle of the forties to 1958. The second part begins in 1958 and ends in 1969. The third part consists of an introduction to an understanding of the thinking and the issues of the movement, and the final part is a conclusion which most closely resembles a personal impression, because it goes beyond the time restrictions on the research work and deals with the movement in the absolute future.

I have relied basically on oral accounts (1), since, as a result of the loss and absence of documents, oral accounts have become the basic source for research into the earliest days of the movement. However, starting in 1954, the movement's documents, writings and printed materials emerge as basic sources in constructing the story of the Brothers in the Sudan. It is my fear that some people might intervene and hold that this research work is the definitive word on the history and the statements of the Sudanese Muslim Brothers' movement, whereas this work is just a humble contribution and an attempt which could be correct or mistaken in constructing the story of the movement and understanding its pronouncements. If I have been correct with respect to some of that, that is due to God, and if I have been mistaken that is due to me and the devil.

[Signed] Hasan Makki Muhammad Ahmad

(1) This study has taken form as an expression of the effort of a group, not the effort of an individual. In the first stage the story of the Brothers was essentially founded on the accounts of Messrs 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, Muhammad Yusuf Muhammad, Mirghani al-Nasri, Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir, 'Ali Talaballah, Mustafa Khawjali, 'Uthman Jadallah, Hamid 'Umar al-Imam, Ibrahim al-Sanusi, Sulayman Sa'id, 'Abbas Hasan al-Tum and Ways 'Umar

Chapter One

The Story of the Establishment of the Movement of the Muslim Brothers (1944-1954)

Background

The History of Egyptian-Sudanese Relations

The history of Sudanese-Egyptian relations is ancient; its roots go back to the story of the course of life in the two countries, proceeding from the pharaonic rulers and the eras of chaos and foreign intervention, from the Persian and Greek occupations to the dominance of the kings of Nabtah, then the Romans and the Byzantine state, the Arabs and the Ottoman Turks, then the French invasion under the command of Napoleon and, following that, the British emissaries Cromer, Kitchener and Allenby, in the midst of the circumstances of the 'Urabi and al-Mahdi revolutions (2).

Modern Sudanese-Egyptian Relations

However, the history of modern Sudanese-Egyptian relations perhaps begins with Muhammad 'Ali's emissaries for conquering the Sudan in 1821 (3) and their attempt to impose unity by the force of arms, bringing relations

[(1) continued] al-Imam. Then, when the study assumed rudimentary form, the people concerned with the course of the movement considered it proper to hold study sessions including the original leaders of the movement to express observations, correct the study and fill gaps. Thus, three sessions were held. The first was in the home of Mr 'Uthman Khalid on 16 August 1981; Messrs 'Uthman Khalid, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman, Ibrahim al-Sanusi, al-Nur 'Abdallah, 'Abdallah Hasan Ahmad Wad, Mudaththir 'Abd-al-Rahim Wad, 'Abdallah Sulayman Wad, Hasan al-Turabi and Ways 'Umar al-Imam took part in this. The second meeting was in the home of Mr Muhammad Yusuf Muhammad, on Wednesday 21 October 1981; participating it were Yusuf Hasan Sa'id, Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir, Salah Abu al-Naja, Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Turbi, Tawfiq Taha, Muhammad Yusuf Wad, 'Abdallah Sulayman Wad, Hasan al-Turabi, 'Abd-al-Rahim Hamdi, Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf Wad, Hasan Abu Salih, Mirghani al-Nasri and Ahmad Muhammad Babakr. The third session was on 13 November 1981 in the home of Mr Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf and taking part in it were Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir, 'Abd-al-Rahim Hamdi, Hasan al-Turabi, Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf, Ahmad Musa, Salah Abu al-Naja and 'Abdallah Hasan Ahmad. Written observations were also received from Messrs Ahmad 'Awad Karim, Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir and 'Abdallah Sulayman, and the account of Mr al-Rashid al-Tahir Bakr was taken down in the course of three sessions.

(2) See Na'um Shuqayr, *Geography and History of the Sudan*, Dar al-Thiqafah, Beirut, 1967; A.J. Arkell, *A History of the Sudan to 1821*, U. London, 1961; and Yusuf Fadl Hasan, *Studies on the History of the Sudan*, First Printing, 1975, and *An Introduction to the History of the Islamic Mamelukes*, Second Printing, al-Dar al-Sudaniyah.

(3) P.M. Holt, *A Modern History of the Sudan*, xi.

between the two countries to a new stage differing from the one that preceded it. One can describe these as the relationship of a ruler to the ruled, not a relationship of cultural and economic interaction, as it was during the al-Sinari state, with its concomitant delegations to al-Azhar, spread of Sufic orders and trips by scholars from the north of the valley to the south of it (1).

The Al-Mahdi and 'Urabi Revolutions

The circumstances which led to the birth of the al-Mahdi's revolution are perhaps close to those which led to the birth of that of 'Urabi. The force which destroyed 'Urabi's revolution is the same one which demolished the state of al-Mahdi. Although Britain invaded the Sudan in the name of the khedive of Egypt and raised the flag of Egypt, the force of occupation, alongside the British flag, the educational and economic institutions which were established tried to reduce reliance on Egypt and its influence on the Sudan. Therefore British policy in the first quarter of this century failed to break the strong interrelationships which had been formed over the centuries and this was reflected in the national societies which were established after World War Two, especially the Federation and White Brigade Societies which were led by 'Ali 'Abd-al-Latif, with whom Egyptian officers cooperated, and in which they participated with the Sudanese. Among the former was Muhammad Najib, who mentioned "Secret activity was nothing new as far as I was concerned; I was a member of one secret body after another starting in 1913. In 1923 I joined the Society of the White Brigade. This society helped prevent the British from turning Egypt and the Sudan into two separate colonies. When I joined the White Brigade I swore on the Koran to protect its secrets with my life (2)."

The Monopolization of the Sudan by the English

However, the experience of the White Brigades, the murder of Sir Lee Stack, the governor of the Sudan, in the streets of Cairo, and the 1924 revolution led to the creation of new circumstances which enabled the English totally to monopolize the Sudan and attempt to remove it from all Egyptian influence, until the establishment of the new nationalist movement represented by the Graduates' Conference (3) in February 1938. This conference came into being before World War Two, proceeded through the early years of the war and grew in the course of it.

The Delay in the Arrival of the Brothers' Movement in the Sudan

Perhaps this, that is, the monopolization of the Sudan by the English and its alienation from all Egyptian influence, can explain the delay in the

(1) Muhammad 'Umar Bashir, International Politics, 51, January 1978, The Experience of Integration between Egypt and the Sudan, pp 18, 19.

(2) Muhammad Najib, Egypt's Destiny, printed and published by the Modern Printing House, Khartoum, p 14.

(3) Ahmad Khayr, The Struggle of a Generation, The Sudanese House, p 148.

arrival of the Muslim Brothers's movement in the Sudan; the movement reached Syria, Palestine and Lebanon in the thirties but did not extend to the Sudan until the mid-forties. This may perhaps constitute a response to al-Husayni, who wondered, in amazement, why the role of the Sudan in the system of priorities of the movement's entry into the Arab countries was delayed (1).

The Start of the Establishment

The Story of the First Tributary, the Egyptian Current

The effects of the winds of change which World War Two (1939-1945) had engendered extended to the Sudan and increased the speed of the flow and development of political, intellectual and cultural movement, accompanied by the slogans of self-determination and the country's demands for independence or federation. The climate of the war provided an Egyptian opening up to the Sudan. 'Ali Mahir visited the Sudan in February 1940 by invitation of the governor general, and he managed to extend the bridges of discussion with the Graduates' Conference and plant the seeds of trust (since the Egyptians, since the establishment of the conference, had held the belief that it was an English fabrication). As a result of this, the conference, beginning in October 1942, became a channel for the nomination of Sudanese students to Egyptian educational institutions (2). A further result was the rapid spread of societies which advocated union, such as the Federalists', Brethren's and Liberals' Parties, all of which emerged in 1942.

One effect of this opening up was perhaps the appearance of Messrs Salah 'Abd-al-Sayyid, an Egyptian lawyer, and Jamal-al-Din al-Sanhuri (3), between 1944 and 1945. The appeal to the Muslim Brothers remained where they gave their sermons in the Graduates' Club and advocated the thinking of the

(1) See al-Husayni, *The Major Islamic Movements*, Beirut Printing and Publishing House, 1952, p 135. In the following chapters it will be apparent that the "Brothers'" movement coming from Egypt prepared the way for the "Islamic Liberation Movement" which emerged in the university and secondary schools in response to purely domestic demands and that it was this latter movement which developed to the point where it became the modern movement of the "Muslim Brothers."

(2) Holt, *Modern B* [sic], p 143.

(3) Jamal-al-Din al-Sanhuri was a Sudanese from Dungkula al-'Awadi. Today he is in the sixth decade of his life. He was a graduate of Khalawi, then the Barbar middle school and the al-Qarashi Institute. He then went to Egypt at the end of the thirties, where he became a Muslim Brother. At the beginning of the fifties, when the Egyptian revolution broke out, in 1952, he issued the newspaper AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH in cooperation with Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid. He participated in the first parliamentary elections for the Dungkula district in 1953, and finally, after the Brothers' ordeal in 1954, left the Brothers and became a Burhani. He is still living in Cairo as a representative of the sheikh of the Burhani order there.

Muslim Brothers, according to the account of 'Ali Taliballah (1). The idea in that early period met with intense enthusiasm and receptivity, which led to the formation of the first committee of the Muslim Brothers under the chairmanship of Ibrahim al-Mufti, with Badawi Mustafa as vice chairman, 'Ali Taliballah as secretary and Muhammad Isma'il al-Azhari, the uncle of Isma'il al-Azhari, and two others. The committee was not effective, in the view of 'Ali Taliballah, but was just an attempt on the Brethren's part to co-opt the movement coming from Egypt (2).

Bayyumi Al-Abyad

However, the memory of the movement was soon reborn in the middle of the forties (3), in the wake of sermons given by Bayyumi 'Ali Abyad, member of the Egyptian army band, which was on a visit to the Sudan. He was a graduate of primary schools and progressed through and studied under the families of the Muslim Brothers. At that time he was no more than 20 (4). He gave the Friday prayer in the great Omdurman mosque and gave sermons there, then in the Graduates' Club and an additional number of mosques. There a number of Sudanese rallied around him and the first effective body of the Muslim Brothers was formed under the chairmanship of 'Awad 'Umar al-Imam, the present imam of the great Omdurman mosque, 'Abd-al-Fattah Jali and Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rida Zuqali, who became responsible for the distribution of newspapers and publications coming from Egypt. This society proceeded to meet every Thursday evening as a religious society and its members retained their previous affiliations, such as the Brethren's Party.

The Visit of 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Abidin and Jamal-al-Din Al-Sanhuri

In October 1946 the general center of the Muslim Brothers sent two of its prominent members to spread the appeal and establish branches in the Sudan.

(1) 'Ali Taliballah, a citizen of al-Qatinah, had a religious upbringing. His four maternal uncles were martyred in the al-Mahdi wars, which instilled in him a love of the lives of the holy warriors and the desire to martyr himself. He first became acquainted with the Brothers through the three letters of al-Banna (Toward the Light, What Are We Calling the People Toward and Our Appeal between Yesterday and Today). He participated in the national movement and took part in the movement of the Graduates' Conference. He worked as manager of the Graduates' magazine and was close to al-Azhari, who chose him as part of the tripartite committee composed of Ahmad al-Sayyid Hamad, Ya'qub 'Uthman and 'Ali Taliballah to calm down the people of the south following the August 1955 rebellion. He then became communications secretary in the Council of Ministers and finally director of the Israel Boycott Office. He then was transferred to retirement, following the emergence of the 25 May 1969 revolution.

(2) Interview with 'Ali Taliballah, mid-December 1978.

(3) Op. cit. and Muhammad Ahmad al-Bashir.

(4) Interview with Hamid 'Umar al-Imam.

These were 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Abidin, secretary general of the Muslim Brothers' organization in Egypt, and Jamal-al-Din al-Sanhuri (1). They met with the Omdurman and Khartoum branch, then visited prominent Sudanese parties and personalities. Since most of the Brothers' supporters at that time were proponents of union (2), they eliminated all causes of doubt in their minds that they might have been proponents of secession and held the English responsible for this slander. They then visited the Egyptian irrigation [project], Jabal Awliya', Malakal, Sannar, the western Sudan and Dunqula. The outcome of their effort was a number of main branches in the towns of al-Jazirah; it also became possible to open 25 branches in the areas surrounding Port Sudan, 'Atbarah, al-Damir and Shindi (3). When they returned they submitted lists of the people who had joined to the general committee in Omdurman (4), but the absence of sound organizational thinking resulted in a waste of these efforts, which were not met with the necessary followup and management (5). When a branch opened, it was concerned only with sermons and the inflammation of fabricated enthusiasm and recordings, then the declaration of the birth of the branch and its demise. Then only the appropriate memories remained in people's minds (6).

The Story of the Girl's Conversion to Christianity

Al-Husayni and Habib Rizq (7) linked the establishment of the movement of the Muslim Brothers in the Sudan to the conversion of a Moslem girl to Christianity in Omdurman. However, this account does not stand on its own two feet, since the conversion of the girl to Christianity occurred in June 1946. As we have seen, the Brothers' organization had been established by that time and it had its committee then. Everyone who has been involved in the movement has denied the existence of any link between the incident of

(1) See al-Husayni, Major Movements, p 135.

(2) Op. cit., p 135.

(3) Al-Husayni, Major Movements, pp 135-6.

(4) Interview with 'Ali Taliballah.

(5) Interview with 'Ali Taliballah and Sadiq 'Abdallah.

(6) In their visits to Dunqula and al-Khundug, the citizens treated them as scholars and were amazed at their ability to speak without reference to a written text, as givers of sermons do. Moreover, their approach to the mosque as a pulpit for making the appeal left a good, pleasant effect among citizens. The citizens also considered this Egyptian opening to the Sudan the first sign of something auspicious, since at that time migration to Egypt was a longed-for hope of ordinary citizens seeking an education or the accumulation of money, because of the narrow scope of life and the land in this regard.

7. Al-Husayni, Major Movements, p 135, and Habib Rizqallah, The Ideology of Union between Egypt and the Sudan, International Politics, the previous year [sic], No 24, April 1971, pp 82-3.

the conversion of the girl to Christianity and the establishment of the Society of the Brothers. The story of the girl, as 'Ali Taliballah relates it, is that while he was engaged in his usual activity in the Graduates' Club, a woman entered the club and cried out "They are turning my daughter into a Christian, my daughter is working as a nanny in al-Irsaliyah." 'Ali took her and brought her to the center so that the situation could be clarified, and there it was learned that the English inspector, Mr Long, had hidden her. At that point the people assembled and set forth from the Scientific and Descendants' Institute (1). The demonstration reached the inspector, who was in his home. He called the column, which set off a flare, so that the people who had assembled dispersed, except for 'Ali Taliballah. However, the case continued until the court of law ruled that the girl should be returned to her mother, on grounds that she was a minor, under the aegis of the judge, Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abdallah. It appears that the source of the confusion which resulted in linking up the incident of the conversion to Christianity with the establishment of the Society of the Brothers was the Brothers' assumption of the movement, since they were greeted with awe from the people and their prestige increased, and the mistake on the part of the Egyptian writers was made.

Development of the Movement of the Moslem Brothers in the Period 1946-1954

The Period 1948-49

In the period 1946-48, most of the movement's activity was carried out by the Egyptian Brothers, who were spread about in Egyptian communities (2), the Egyptian irrigation [project], Jabal Awliya', Malakal, Sannar and Khar-toum. The focal point of contact with the Egyptians was 'Ali Taliballah, until his personality came to dominate 'Awad 'Umar; the latter continued as president.

Although the society's membership expanded, and all the political and religious societies in that period adopted a role in its regard, the administrative secretary did not allow the movement to establish a house for itself, since it had not declared its independence of the Islamic movement in Egypt, which went through the ordeal of 1948, when it lost legitimate status. At this point the Sudan's organization did not even dare to declare its independence from the tactical standpoint at least so that it could give itself some freedom of movement; this shows the extent of its allegiance to the mother movement.

The Year of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt

The year 1948 is considered the year of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt (3), since it no longer expressed itself only politically, or even militarily in

(1) Interview with Malik Badri. (The name of the girl was Mandamit, which appears to be a contraction of "man damit.")

(2) Including Muhammad Sa'id, Jamal 'Ammar and Mustafa Jabrah.

(3) Richard P. Mitchell, The Society of the Muslim Brothers, 1929 [sic], OUP, pp 55-79.

the form of limited guerrilla movements, as was the case against the English in the canal, but came to have great military weight which drew attention with the entry of the Brothers' first fully equipped holy war battalion in Palestine on 25 April 1948 under the command of Ahmad 'Abd-al-'Aziz. The year 1948 also brought out its political nature, that is, the movement's insistent orientation toward the attainment of political sovereignty. On 22 March 1948, a young Brother killed the judge Ahmad al-Khazandar Bey, on grounds of treason, since he had issued severe sentences against some of the Brothers' guerrillas who had fallen into the hands of the English after a guerrilla operation. On 17 February 1948, it became apparent that the Brothers had a connection with the liberal movement behind the Yemeni coup which had liquidated Imam Yahya and his three sons in Yemen. On 15 February 1948, the Brothers' strategy manifested itself in the incident of the Jeep which occurred in circumstances of domestic strife, explosions and disruptive incidents in areas in Egypt where Jews and foreigners were concentrated. In 1948, on 28 February, al-Banna was arrested, on 6 December 1948 the Brothers' organization was dissolved and its property confiscated, and on 28 December 1948 al-Nuqrashi Pasha, the prime minister, was assassinated at the hands of a third year veterinary medicine student who was a young Brother.

The Attempt To Assassinate Robert Howe

This spirit extended to the Sudan. That year the plot of an operation to assassinate the governor there, Robert Howe (August 1948-March 1955), began to be hatched (1). The choice at the beginning fell on Mustafa Mu'min, a fighting youth of the Egyptian Brothers, but it was considered that that might lead to complications similar to those which had arisen with the assassination of Sir Lee Stack in 1924. It happened that the role was shifted to 'Ali Taliballah, who had become the object of the trust of the Egyptian Brothers (2).

The Legislative Assembly Demonstrations

The English became attentive to what was going on in the Sudan and linked the spirit of revolution against the English and the palace [t]here with the spirit of revolution against the English and the Legislative Assembly here. The motive forces behind the 1948 demonstration in the field were Brothers -- Muhammad Muhammad Sadiq al-Karuri, Mustafa Muhammad 'Ali, Shaykh Muhammad Nur, Ma'mun Tamimi, Muhammad 'Abd al-Zamzami and 'Abd-al-Raqiz al-Fadani. The Brothers' slogans prevailed -- "God is great and praise be to God" "For the sake of God we have risen" "We want to raise the banner" "Let religion regain its glory or let blood flow" "God is our goal, the prophet is our model and the Koran is our constitution" (3). Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid was detained for a period of a month (4).

(1) 'Ali Taliballah.

(2) 'Ali Taliballah.

(3) Hamid 'Umar and Muhammad Yusuf.

(4) Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid.

The Officer Muhammad 'Ashur

The English took note of what was going on and linked the Brothers to the firm relationship between Shaykh 'Ali Taliballah and Muhammad 'Ashur, the maintenance officer of the Egyptian army, who was giving sermons in mosques. The English protested against this and the commander general of the Egyptian army, Bishari, summoned 'Ali Taliballah and informed him that he intended to transfer Muhammad 'Ashur to Egypt because if he was kept on he might be arrested, and that would trigger a crisis between the Egyptian and English governments. He asked him to let the transfer proceed peacefully, but as soon as the time came for the departure at the railway station in Khartoum, the Brothers assembled, 'Ali Taliballah gave a speech and started shouting, and the masses of the Brothers repeated the shouts along with him. The eyes of the intelligence agencies were observing everything.

The Story of the 10 Months

It appears that the plan to assassinate Robert Howe found its way to the English, since 'Ali Taliballah was quickly arrested. A pistol was found in his possession and he was brought to summary trial, at which he was given 4 months in prison. This was then doubled to 8 months after the office of the prosecutor appealed the original verdict. It was then increased another 2 months at another trial whose subject concerned his rising up in the railway station while saying goodbye to Muhammad 'Ashur, and reached a full 10 months.

'Ali Taliballah, The Brothers' General Observer

In prison, 'Ali Taliballah proceeded to receive letters from Hasan al-Banna, the general guide (1), encouraging him to resist. One of these letters he received informed him of his appointment as general observer of the Muslim Brothers in the Sudan and member of the Brothers' general charter council in Cairo. Thus, for the first time, the commander of the Society of the Brothers proceeded to draw his legitimacy from Egypt, not the Sudan.

The Literature of the Society between 1946 and 1952

Al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh

At the beginning of the forties, reading societies started to be disseminated through the Sudan. They would hold readings in Arab literature and Islamic thinking, in particular the works of Jamal-al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh (2). This made it easy for this literature to be received by the Brothers. This literature then found its way into the Brothers' papers and Hasan al-Banna's letters in the mid-forties. The means for making the connection were symposia, public meetings, branch meetings, the revival of

(1) 'Ali Taliballah

(2) Al-Hadi Abu Bakr, former teacher in the Ministry of Education, retired and on pension in Abu Ruf (Omdurman).

religious festivals, and the families which the Egyptian Brothers supervised.

The First Family

The first family met in Ramadan, April 1949 (1). This was organized by Dr Kamal Madani Yahya, who is now working in the Ministry of Health. He was a fugitive from Egypt at that time. Attending it were Hamid 'Umar, Mustafa Muhammad 'Ali, 'Ali Ibrahim Hamdun, Ahmad 'Awad al-Karim and 'Izz-al-Din al-Shaykh. After that the families started to meet in the home of Ibrahim 'Umar Ahmad, owner of a carpentry shop and a resident of al-Thawrah. Since the family represented the organizational unit, it was secret, owing to the circumstances of colonialism in the Sudan and government pressure on the parent movement in Egypt.

The Brothers' Movement and the Question of Union

1946-1952 was one of the most critical periods through which the modern history of the Sudan has passed. The focal point of political controversy was the nature of the relationship with Egypt and the future of constitutional institutions. The masses of Egypt's branches of the Brothers' movement proceeded in the cavalcade of the unionists and supported the current of the unionists through the Graduates' Conference.

The House of the Muslim Brothers

'Ali Taliballah managed to open a house for the Muslim Brothers in 1953, which he called the House of the Muslim Brothers, near the private school of Bayt al-Mal. It was then later known as the general center of the Muslim Brothers.

The Society's Constitution

The society's constitution in 1946-52 was The Letter on Education by the martyred imam Hasan al-Banna. Due to the administrative and ideological subjects it contained, it was considered a document which constituted a source of reference for the Brothers. There was an administrative office which continued to be elected by the general assembly until Shaykh 'Ali Taliballah eliminated that when he felt that there was a trend toward opposition in 1953, and he proceeded to give out the office by appointment. At that time the concentration of Egyptian literature received by the movement increased: Al-Banna's Letters, The 40 Stories, The Atomic, Khafaji's Book, Islam the Religion of Reform and Freedom, al-'Aqqad's books on genius, and Taha Husayn's Writings on Islam.

(1) Hamid 'Umar al-Imam (the term "family" means the basic organizational unit in the organization, a cell; previously, it was an instrument for establishing cultural and administrative foundations).

In this period, 1952-53, interaction and mutual activity began to occur between the Muslim Brothers and the Islamic Liberation Movement (1). 'Ali Taliballah, Hamid 'Umar and other Brothers would go to the university to attend seminars and university students would appear at the department of branch families -- Hashim Hasan 'Urwah, Hasan 'Ali, 'Ali 'Adlan, Muhammad al-Mudaththir Sayyid Ahmad, Muhammad 'Uthman Ahmad Isma'il, Muhammad Yusuf Muhammad and Mudaththir 'Abd-al-Rahim (2). The number of family members would not exceed seven. However, this reserve, that is, the "Muslim Brothers" coming from Egypt, was not fated to remain and endure, since some of them melted into the Liberation Movement and others were eliminated through a flagging of enthusiasm and the discontinuation of reasons for being in contact with Egypt. In addition, 'Ali Taliballah was a man of "groupings," by virtue of his work in political parties, and not an organization man; as a result, the reasons for contact with affiliates and supporters disappeared. Therefore, in the mid-fifties, the activity of this tributary was suspended and people no longer heard anything about it, while the Islamic Liberation Movement grew, assumed the name and formulations of the Muslim Brothers and took their place on the stage.

Chapter Two

The Story of the Second Tributary, the Current of Sudanese Students in Egypt

Jamal, Sadiq and Kamal Madani

Jamal al-Din al-Sanhuri was the first Sudanese student who went to Egypt to enroll in the organization of the Muslim Brothers, and the day came, as we have seen, when Jamal al-Din became receptive to having the parent movement enter the Sudan. Jamal al-Din became part of the leadership of the Africa affairs office (3) belonging to the section on contact with the Islamic world (4). He was followed by Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, who set out for

(1) According to Hasan 'Umar al-Imam's account, until 1950 the only person who had a relationship with 'Ali Taliballah was the founder of the Liberation Movement, Babakr Karrar. At that time Babakr was devoted to educational concepts and was opposed to political action and its extensions in the form of demonstrations and strikes.

(2) According to Ahmad 'Awad al-Karim's account, the first branch for the city of Omdurman and the villages around it was formed at this time. The administration of the branch was assigned to a branch council composed of five Brothers, who sought the help of university students who had a background in Islamic jurisprudence and education to explain Islamic thinking and ways of conducting the appeal to God. Every branch was directed from the office of the Brothers, that is, the Islamic Liberation Movement, in the university.

(3) 'Uthman Jadallah.

(4) See the law on the constitution of the general board of the Muslim Brothers, 8 September 1945, Chapter Five, Part Three, Regions, Administrative Offices and Foreign Branches, as well as the general bylaws of the Muslim Brothers, 3 November 1951, section on contact with the Islamic outer world, Articles 73 and 74.

Egypt in 1940 and there enrolled in the Hilwan higher secondary school, where he met Kamal Madani. There they lived next to Sayyid Qutb's house.

Al-Sharbini, Sadiq and Kamal

In 1943, Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid became chairman of the Federation of Sudanese Students. This attracted the attention of the lawyer Mahmud Yunus al-Sharbini, who, with Kamal Madani, began getting close to him and arousing his interest in the Muslim Brothers. In addition, Sayyid Qutb, who was an adherent to Islam though he had not become a Brother, invited them to a group in his home. The Islamic [discussion] materials advocated revolution and rebellion against the existing state of affairs and proselytized for agrarian reform. Among the Sudanese who frequented the group were Muhammad Ziyadah Hammur and Jabrah 'Abd-al-Rahman.

The Meeting between Sadiq and Al-Banna

Al-Banna then visited Hilwan at that time and al-Sharbini enticed Sadiq to meet him. Hasan al-Banna came and gave a speech in the movie theater. Sadiq was moved, spoke to the people and invited al-Banna to visit the Sudan. That evening Sadiq then recited the long poem on Imam al-Banna, which began:

"A religion from God which we love, and which loves us;

"May God make those who care for its nature triumph.

"God is great, we repeat it still

"In spite of the tyrants, and we have guided those who are disbelievers."

The Affiliation of Sadiq and Kamal with the Brothers Takes Concrete Form

However, in spite of this, the affiliation of Sadiq and Kamal with the Brothers assumed concrete form only after 1946, that is, after a group of students in higher schools were sent by the Graduates' Conference to Egypt in the era of 'Abd-al-Raziq al-Sanhuri (1), including Ahmad Zayn al-'Abidin, al-Tijani al-Tayyib, al-Junayd 'Ali 'Umar Muhammad Hamid, al-Tayyib Ibrahim and Mahjub al-Badawi. At that time they had embraced Communism and 'Abd-al-Majid Abu Hasbu, Muhammad Amin Husayn, 'Izz-al-Din 'Ali Mahir and 'Abduh Dahab Hasanayn met with them. They rallied around Henri Curiel, the Communist Jew (2). Here, with the advent of this group, according to Sadiq 'Abdallah's account, a new morality manifested itself which the Sudanese

(1) He was minister of education.

(2) Henri Curiel was an Egyptian Jew, scion of a bourgeois family who established the Egyptian Movement of National Liberation and the Democratic Movement of National Liberation. He was banished from Egypt by decree of the minister of the interior in 1950 and went to France, where he lived. However, he was assassinated there in late 1978 in an obscure incident. See Dr Rif'at Sa'id, The Civilized Left, 1925-40, History of the Socialist Movement in Egypt, pp 291-97, al-Tali'ah House, and Najib Nusayr, p 111.

households that had developed up to that time were not familiar with, and with the passage of time two ways of thinking took concrete form which had different positions on every issue. This struggle prompted the current of the adherents of Islam -- Sadiq 'Abdallah, Ma'mun 'Abd Tamim, 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Khalifah Hasan and Ahmad Babakr 'Adlan -- to direct itself toward al-Azhar University and the general center of the Muslim Brothers in Cairo, seeking support and benefit for activity through the seminars and trips of the Brothers' families.

The First Sudanese Family in Egypt

At the end of the forties, Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir arrived and gravitated toward the camp of the adherents of Islam. The first Sudanese family was formed; its main components were 'Abbas Muhammad al-Sayyid, Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir and 'Abd-al-Baqi 'Umar 'Atiyah. It would meet in the home of Mustafa al-Bassati and Ahmad al-Bassati, Brothers from Egypt, and this group would proceed to slip away to the Sudan during vacations, carrying the Brothers' books and publications. The group's attainments increased with the enrollment of Salih Adam Bilu, Abu Hamad Hasaballah, Ahmad al-Tijani 'Umar, 'Abd-al-Karim Muhammad 'Abd-al-Karim, Babakr 'Abd-al-Ghani, Sharif al-Yasa', 'Ali 'Abdallah and al-Mamaw Fath-al-Rahman al-Ja'li.

The Effect on the Movement of Islamic Students in the Sudan

This current proceeded to influence the movement of Islamic students in the Sudan, which was the offspring of independent conditions. In 1952 Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, 'Abd-al-Baqi 'Umar 'Atiyah and Hasan al-Shafi'i, the nephew of Husayn al-Shafi'i, came to the Sudan by agreement of the guidance office in Egypt. There they took part in camps, trips and meetings with Sudanese here in the Sudan. The most important outcome of this trip took place when they went to Hantub secondary school and met with the adherents of Islam in the school (Ja'far Shaykh Idris, 'Uthman Khalid Madwi, 'Abd-al-Hamid 'Abd-al-Majid (1), al-Rih al-Fadl and others). They met with the students in the home of a waiter who was called Habbani because of circumstances of concealment and secrecy and out of fear of English surveillance, as embodied in Mr Brown. They found Hantub subjected to dominance by adherents of Islam, since they dominated all the societies there (2).

The Newspaper AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH

After the Egyptian revolution took place, Jamal al-Din al-Sanhuri proceeded to issue the magazine AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH from Egypt, with support from the revolutionary council, to propagate the ideas of the Islamic movement. Sadiq 'Abdallah participated with him in putting it out. The management of the paper was soon assigned to Sadiq 'Abdallah and Sayyid Qutb and, among the Sudanese, Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir started to write a chapter on the

(1) 'Abd-al-Hamid 'Abd-al-Majid took part in 'Ali Hamid's coup and was executed.

(2) "Adherents of Islam" means the extensions of the Islamic Liberation Movement.

pageant of Islam in it. It was a weekly magazine, had a circulation of 5,000 copies and came out every Thursday morning. It was suspended due to the change in political circumstances and the Egyptian government's struggles with the Brothers.

Operating in the Name of the Brothers

This current, on a working trip to the Sudan, decided to operate in accordance with the Muslim Brothers' subjects and ideas. This became official after a meeting in the House of Islamic Proselytization, on the basis of a recommendation presented by Sadiq 'Abdallah, Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir and 'Abd-al-Rahman Rahmah, which led to activity in the House of Proselytization and some secondary schools and changes in the university faculty, which led to a struggle with the people in the Islamic Liberation Movement (1).

Chapter Three

The Current of the Adherents of Independence, the Basic Nucleus of the Modern Movement of the Muslim Brothers

The Islamic Liberation Movement

The Breakup of the Graduates' Conference

At the start of the forties, the early signs of a rift in the Graduates' Conference between people advocating a union and a merger and people calling for total independence in order to preserve innate values manifested themselves (2). The current of the federalists articulated itself by means of

(1) Yasan [sic] 'Umar 'Ali's account stipulates that the basic struggle was in the Islamic Liberation Movement itself, since 40 students met with Babakr Karrar in August 1953. He considered them a general body and a command office emerged from them, under Babakr Karrar's chairmanship, with Ahmad 'Abd-al-Hamid, 'Abdallah Zakariya, Mirghani al-Nasir, Bishri Hamid Jabr al-Dar and al-Dardiri Ibrahim as members. The previous command was dismissed and terminated. This consisted of al-Rashid al-Tahir, Yusuf Hasan Sa'id and Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad 'Ali. This all occurred without the conveyance of notice to the bases of the organization. At this point Yasan came and intervened in the matter, after he had learned everything concerning what had happened from the late Muhammad Ahmad 'Ali and recommended to the parties concerned that a general conference be held to settle the dispute. However, the notion of the conference was abolished and Babakr Karrar's grouping started advocating ideas which were not harmonious with the Islamic thinking which prevailed. At that time Yusuf Hasan Sa'id answered him with a 19-page memorandum. At that point Yasan traveled to 'Atbarah, but the idea of the conference, that is, the holiday conference, soon imposed itself, under an invitation to the conference to every Brother who had reached 20 years of age and had completed 4 years in the organization (the coming chapters will shed more light on the subject in detailed fashion).

(2) Ahmad Khayr, The Struggle of a Generation, p 148, Sudanese House.

the platform of the Brethren, which Isma'il al-Azhari had established in 1943 and grew among the masses of the middle class under the aegis of the al-Khatmiyah. The current of the adherents of independence expressed itself through the establishment of the al-Ummah Party in February 1945 (1). Al-Sayyid 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Mahdi cooperated with a group of the graduates, and most enthusiastic students organized themselves within the current of the Brothers. However, because these leaders did not embrace a political theory antagonistic to colonialism, they sought another avenue, which led them to Marxism (2).

The Sudanese National Liberation Movement

Marxist thinking may have come into the Sudan via intellectuals who had gone to study in Cairo and had taken part in the activity of Marxist groups there, and via an English soldier named Estrey who focussed his activity on students. Ultimately the Sudanese Marxists produced the format of the Sudanese National Liberation Movement, which concentrated on the university faculty and secondary schools. According to Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub's account, they seemed to be loyal to the notion of total independence, but they vacillated over the unity of the Nile Valley because of tactical considerations (3). At the end of the forties, their grip over the student movement stiffened in the form of what is known as the students' conference in the Sudan and the Federation of Sudanese Students in Egypt (the current of Sudanese students antagonistic to the Communists in Egypt expressed itself through the League of Sudanese Students). As we have seen, the effects of the struggle began to extend from Egypt to the Sudan.

Al-Sa'im Muhammad Ibrahim

In 1948, Mr al-Sa'im Muhammad Ibrahim, now a lawyer, visited the Hantub School and recommended to the students Babakr Karrar and Muhammad Yusuf Muhammad that they form a branch of the Sudanese Students' League in the school to confront the Communists' activity. He introduced 'Abbas Musa to them in his capacity as a secretary of the league (4), but when 'Abbas Musa was not able to supply them with a constitution, the idea lapsed, to be revived again in the hands of Babakr Karrar in 1949 in the faculty of the university, where the Communists were dominant and student elements with Islamic inclinations had totally surrendered.

(1) Mohammed Ahmed Mahgoub, *Democracy on Trial*, Andre Douth, 1775 [sic], p 45.

(2) Muhammad Sulayman, *The Sudanese Left in the Course of a Decade*, Al-Fajr Press; 'Abd-al-Khaliq Mahjub, *How I Became a Communist*, pp 65-66.

(3) Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub, *Democracy on Trial*, p 45.

(4) Interview with Muhammad Yusuf Muhammad and Mirghani al-Nasri, lawyers.

The Islamic Liberation Movement

In March 1949 Babakr Karrar assigned Muhammad Yusuf to write a memorandum of introduction in the name of the Islamic Liberation Movement (1) which was summarized from the introduction to the book *The Life of Muhammad* by Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal. Babakr Karrar and Muhammad Yusuf then contacted Yusuf Hasan Sa'id, al-Tayyib Muhammad Salih (the well known literary figure), 'Adil Fadlallah and Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad Ahmad (martyrs of the events of August 1955 in the south), since their appeal had been made to Islamic ideas and the socialist nature of Islam (2). Although the new leaders had been influenced by the visit of 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Abidin and Jamal al-Din al-Sanhuri, they did not have any idea about the organization of the Muslim Brothers.

The organization was secret, owing to the circumstances of colonialism, and one could enter it only after swearing an oath (3). The organization did not have specific intellectual features and drew its ideas from the readings of its members. In May 1949 the organization extended to Hantub, where Mirghani al-Nasri, who was a friend of Babakr Karrar and Muhammad Yusuf, was present. The idea enjoyed circulation there, since it had been preceded by a movement of religious devotion which expressed itself in factions which proceeded to combat Communism (4) and opposing moral systems and certain manifestations of deviation. Since the Khawr Taqat school at the outset of its activity existed as a part of the Hantub school because its own buildings had not been completed, the movement made progress amongst the students in Taqat's

(1) From its name, it is clear that the movement was influenced by, and arose as a reaction to, the Communist movement (the Sudanese National Liberation Movement).

(2) Mirghani al-Nasri.

(3) Even after entering the organization, the member did not even know the name of the movement, let alone its commander. Rather, he contented himself with following its guidance, since it was basically a movement opposed to Communism, atheism and moral dissolution.

(4) Yusuf Hasan Sa'id's account stipulates that when their group moved on to the university, it found that it was under the dominance of the Communists. The chairman of the students' conference was Mustafa al-Sayyid, its secretary was al-Tahir 'Abd-al-Basit and there was a disorganized Islamic group -- Muhammad Ibrahim and Mandur al-Hindi. Yusuf belonged to 'Abd-al-Qayyum Muhammad Sa'd's cell and Babakr Karrar was in Sa'd Amir's cell. He gave Babakr a book attacking the Muslim Brothers, "The Muslim Brothers in the Balance," which the Wafdists at that time had issued as part of their attack against the Brothers. However, because of the book, Babakr became a Brother, or let us say proselytizer of Islam. Then, when the Communists imposed the format of the united front in 1949, he started to form a spontaneous Islamic current. After that he, Babakr and Muhammad Yusuf formed the nucleus of the Islamic Liberation Movement. They did not adopt a leader for themselves but the personality of Babakr Karrar became prominent, because he was the most active and the person with the longest intellectual tradition.

classes and moved to the west when the school moved to the west, that is, to Taqat, in the persons of Muhammad Sati, the department of courts, and al-Fatih Bisharah (the ambassador) who had been enrolled in the corps of the movement at that time (1).

Ahmad Al-Shaykh Al-Bashir: Takeover of the Students' Convergence

In 1949, the Hantub school went to Wadi Sayyidna, on the occasion of the athletic program. There a meeting took place between Mirghani al-Nasri and the late judge Ahmad al-Shaykh Bashir, who was chairman of the Religious Front then was recruited, and others (2). In July 1950, these groups moved on to the faculty and joined its institutions. This led to a radical transformation in the map of student activity, since the movement of the adherents of Islam took over the students' conference (3), as a result of the advent of massive numbers of people from secondary schools who were linked to the goals of the new movement. That was accompanied by the breakup of the Communist movement into Mensheviks, 'Awad 'Abd-al-Raziq, and Bolsheviks, 'Abd-al-Khaliq Mahjub. Therefore, no sooner did the election period arise than the new group swept the elections of the religious societies and the cultural and literary fellowship, then won the student federation elections, with seven seats out of 10. The chairman of the federation became al-Rashid al-Tahir Bakr by recommendation of Babakr Karar.

(1) Mirghani al-Nasri.

(2) Dr 'Abdallah Sulayman tends to consider the groups which were involved in Islamic activity under the aegis of the religious society in Wadi Sayyidna a tributary independent of those which became part of the resources of the Islamic movement in the Sudan. This group was distinguished by activity in the midst of a repressive environment hostile to basic Islamic thinking, in spite of the tolerance toward cultural activity within the religious society whose command was dominated by groups of Brothers which later became connected with the university movement and the movement of the people. Of these, in the years 1949-53, I might mention Ahmad al-Shaykh Bashir, Muhammad Salih 'Umar, al-Amin al-Dakir, Hashim 'Urwah, 'Abdallah Sulayman and Muhammad Salih 'Umar [sic]. After that, the movement became more widespread throughout the student community and no longer needed the protection of the religious society.

(3) The students' conference was a secret grouping dominated by the Communists. Therefore Babakr Karar's thinking parted ways with the notion of a new organization under the name of the Federation of Students, and 'Abdallah Zakariya undertook to bring the idea into execution. It held its first founding conference in 1954 in Khartoum University. The central committee was composed of independents and Brothers under the chairmanship of Musa al-Mubarak, and Ibrahim al-Dasuqi, Ahmad Kamil al-'Asi and Muhammad Taliballah represented the Brothers. This was a turning point in the history of the Brothers' movement in the higher secondary schools, and their strategy was successful in isolating the Communists.

Confusion over the Naming of the Movement

Since the movement was secret and its name was not openly declared, its name became confused in people's minds with that of the Muslim Brothers. At the beginning of 1950 the Brothers' situation in Egypt changed, the Brothers' heroic acts manifested themselves, the press conveyed vivid pictures in the Brothers's favor and it became respectable to be affiliated with them. In addition to that, the influence of the Sudanese Brothers was to be found here and there. The Communists, by deliberately spreading confusion and linking the movement to the sequence of violence and terror which had become commonplace relative to the movement after the Egyptian revolution, began to mention the name of the Muslim Brothers and people therefore no longer distinguished the original movement from the Muslim Brothers. Indeed, some Liberation Movement leaders basically heard the name of the Muslim Brothers only from the mouths of the Communists (1).

Currents within the Movement

The movement's participation in political action and the experiences it obtained through its representatives' activity in the federation and their struggle with the administration of Mr Wilshire, the director of the university, brought the movement new experience and concepts and corrected conceptions that the movement was not just one of religious devotion. This led to the emergence of two currents:

1. One current calling for spiritual and educational preparation before the pursuit of any political missions.
2. The current of comprehensive activity and the exercise of political expression in conjunction with other activities.

Strikes

The former current assumed concrete form by means of Hasan 'Abdallah al-Turabi, Mudaththir 'Abd-al-Rahim, 'Abdallah Muhammad Ahmad and Ja'far Shaykh Idris. The latter current was that of Mirghani al-Nasri (2), that is, the current of the founder of the Liberation Movement. Therefore, the elections of the 1953-54 session were intense and took place in schismatic conditions, as a result of which the federation's committee came under the control of

(1) Yusuf Hasan Sa'id attributes the designation of the Brothers to Faruq Muhammad Ibrahim and Faruq Mustafa, Communists, since they imposed the name of the Muslim Brothers on the movement. According to Yusuf's account, he and Ahmad Muahhamd Babakr wrote a research paper titled "Islamic Socialism" opposing Babakr, who said that there was no socialism in Islam. As for the Brothers' effect on the movement, that appeared with the advent of 'Abd-al-Baqi 'Umar 'Atiyah, who came from Egypt.

(2) This is Mirghani al-Nasri's account. Hasan al-Turabi is not favorably disposed toward it, since it was not in accordance with his view. A split exists concerning these circumstances and effects. The advocacy of federation by the Communists cannot be attributed to this sort of thing.

the Communists (nine out of 10), with a single Brother, Mirghani al-Nasri, winning [a seat]. However, the federation committee, that is, the committee of Communists, resigned, since it considered that this victory had been contrived by the Brothers so that the committee would be faced with the question of holding a strike that had been raised by the general assembly in protest against the Jamal-Hyde agreement and that that might result in its dissolution. That was followed by the committee of the independents, who at that time were called "Pepsi Cola" (1), under the chairmanship of Muhammad Khayr 'Uthman, with 'Uthman Sayyid Ahmad, 'Awn al-Sharif and Musa al-Mubarak as secretaries. However, it withdrew in the end as the specter of the strike loomed. The final option was for the strike activity to be assigned to a general committee under Islamic leadership. The leadership ultimately devolved on Mirghani al-Nasri and the committee carried out the strike. It then led the struggle for Sudanization inside the university, which increased the Sudanization committee's activity outside the university (2). This committee was dismissed, but it was brought back after negotiations with Jamal Muhammad Ahmad, supervisor of student affairs at that time.

Other Islamic Groups during the Fifties

Other Islamic Groups

These three currents succeeded in creating an Islamic transformation which paved the way for the emergence of other Islamic groups. Toward the end of the forties, Salih Harb Pasha visited the Sudan and was invited to form a branch of the Muslim Youth Organization in Egypt. A committee was formed under the chairmanship of Sulayman Musa, chairman of the Workers' Affairs Council (3). Then in that period the Movement of the Partisans of the Sayings and Doings of Muhammad emerged, and it established a center in Omdurman. It issued a charter for itself in 1949, defining its objective (the spread of the true appeal to Islam and its literature in the nation of the Sudan) (4) and stating that it did not belong to a faction or a political party but ["]our group is the friend of every body which is working on behalf of Islam in particular and the nation in general.["] Yusuf 'Umar assumed the position of secretary general, and the period witnessed the promotion of revolutionary religious awareness among students at the scientific institute, since they began to feel their duty toward religion, to the point where people gave them the name of the Brothers, although they did not have an organization. Among these people, Ibrahim Mubarak (now in Mecca), Muhammad al-Zamzami 'Abd-al-Raziq and Ma'mun Tamim stood out, the Party of God was born, and Muhammad Hasan Tanun, Shawqi al-Asad and Prof al-Mahallawi became some of their leaders.

(1) An indication that their movement was not founded on fixed intellectual positions and that it adapted itself to everyone in accordance with circumstances of time and place.

(2) Information taken from Mirghani al-Nasri the lawyer.

(3) 'Uthman Jadallah.

(4) The Charter on the Group of the Partisans of the Sayings and Doings of Muhammad, Omdurman, the Sudan, first printing, 1949, pp 3,4.

In April 1951, Sa'id Ramadan came to the Sudan and gave a number of lectures in the graduates' clubs in Omdurman, Bahari and al-Abyad, and a number of university students rallied around him. In addition to that, a dinner party was held at the home of the poet Majdhub Hasan, where the gathering brought together Sa'id Ramadan and 'Ali Sharfah. For the first time the al-Mahdist students met (Hamid 'Umar, Ma'mun Tamim, Muhammad Salih 'Ali Hamzah, 'Abd-al-Rahman Khalifah Hasan, Muhammad al-Hajj Muihammad Salih, Ibrahim al-Nasri, 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Latif and Ahmad 'Abd-al-'Aziz) (1).

A. Fatimah Talib, The Movement's First Female Recruit

B. Establishment of the External Branches

The Islamic Liberation Movement grew (2), and women came to have a presence within the movement. Fatimah Talib became the early auspicious sign when Yusuf Hasan Sa'id recruited her. She was followed by Zakiyah Makki, Buthaynah al-Shaykh, Thurayya Imbabi and Su'ad al-Fatih. The idea of the movement circulated among the students in the faculty more and more, until it came to acquire 50 students. That was an estimable achievement, since the students numbered a few hundred in their totality. The movement also started to expand and acquire outlets for itself in the regions, where external branches were established; in the context of these, Hamid 'Umar al-Imam, who refused to have his two brothers devote themselves to the movement, was recruited, and he recruited Yasan 'Umar al-Imam. Yasan was enthusiastic about Islamic activity and travelled in 1952 to 'Atbarah, just after he had graduated, to form tributaries of the movement among Railway Authority workers.

The Arrival of 'Abd-al-Badi' Saqr

The 7-Hour Meeting

In 1952 a delegation of Egyptian Muslim Brothers came to the Sudan under the leadership of 'Abd-al-Badi' Saqr. This delegation contacted the leaders of the Liberation Movement, proposing an organic affiliation with the movement of the Muslim Brothers to them and giving the organizations of Syria and Iraq as examples. However, Yusuf Hasan Sa'id demurred, pointing to the particular nature of the Sudanese movement and the particular nature of the Sudanese political movement and pointing out that the Sudanese Brethren's Party, which called for union with Egypt, had not become part of the Wafd Party and that any attempt to link the Liberation Movement organically to Egypt would result in the alienation of the Partisans' members from the movement and their rebellion against it. This contact led to a meeting which became known as the 7-hour meeting and was held in the home of Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid. Sadiq was the motive force behind this meeting, since the meeting dealt with all the existing problems of Islamic action.

(1) Hamid 'Umar al-Imam.

(2) I have relied here essentially on Yusuf Hasan Sa'id's account.

One of those present was Babakr Karrar, who played the role of the advocate of peace who wanted to create a link with the Egyptians (1), while Sadiq 'Abdallah represented the revolutionary current. Other persons present were Muhammad Yusuf, Mirghani al-Nasri and Mawlana Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad 'Ali. It appears that the meeting reached consensus that the situation should continue as it had been.

The July Revolution and the Winds of Change

This meeting took place in circumstances of a comprehensive change which altered balances and people's opinions with the occurrence of the Egyptian July 1952 revolution, which brought along with it the Sudan agreement and the seeds of polarization amongst Sudanese regarding the country's orientation -- total independence or a federation with Egypt.

An Internal Coup under Babakr Karrar's Leadership

In August 1953, Babakr Karrar ceased to be active (2). Of course, Babakr had tried to restore his status within the movement when it appeared to him that the ground was moving underneath him. Therefore he called for a meeting at the home of 'Awad Salim al-Hakim in which he mobilized his supporters. The people in attendance came to 40 members. An intellectual and political orientation was defined for the movement at the meeting for the first time, since the people who met described themselves as:

1. An Islamic liberation movement, not the Muslim Brothers.
2. Partial toward workers, students and peasants.
3. The meeting approved the circulation of a letter on recruitment, another on "the land to him who works it" and a third on the nationalization of means of production. When the letter "The land to him who works it" appeared, it to a large degree resembled a series of articles which Muhammad Abu Sa'ud had written in the magazine AL-MUSLIMUN.

(1) The late Babakr Karrar, as those who knew him describe him, was always tense, constantly experimenting and restless. He was always the leader and the decisionmaker; sometimes, however, he was a leader of the educational school and sometimes he was the leader of the party of politics. Sometimes he was a proponent of independence, while in reality he was a person of independent mind and individual conduct. However, he may have proceeded with the caravan of the unionists and this was all perhaps a way of aspiring toward perfection and the acquisition of expertise, experience and knowledge. The context of experience, to Babakr, was personal; therefore, he failed to be a mass leader, in spite of the abilities and characteristics of leadership for which he was described.

(2) Al-Rashid al-Tahir's account asserts that the germ of the dispute emerged after his return (he was the chairman of the federation at that time) and that of Ahmad al-Shaykh al-Bashir, the secretary of the federation, from Egypt, by invitation of the government of the revolution, when they contacted such leaders of the Egyptian Brothers as 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Abidin.

The Dismissal of Yusuf Hasan Sa'id

More important than that, Yusuf Hasan Sa'id, Ahmad Muhammad Babakr and Muhammad Ahmad Taha were dismissed at the meeting on grounds that they were federationists, that is, proponents of assimilation into the Egyptian Muslim Brothers' movement (1). At the meeting a new command office was elected under the leadership of Babakr Karrar, with Bishri Hamid Jabr al-Dar, al-Dar-diri Ibrahim and Mirghani al-Nasri as members.

The Emergency of the Literature of the Schism and the Establishment of a Committee of Mediation

At this point some Brothers were seized with bewilderment and ceased to be active. Among them were Yas 'Umar al-Imam. In addition, the literature of schism and accusations started to appear in wall posters at the university. At this point Yusuf Hasan Sa'id called for an opposition meeting in Room One. Among the people who attended that were Muhammad Yusuf, Mirghani al-Nasri, Yas 'Umar al-Imam, Muhammad Mufrih, 'Uthman Jadallah, Hasan al-Turabi and 'Abdallah Zakariya. At the meeting Yusuf Hasan Sa'id submitted his resignation in a provocative manner, stating, "This is your trust, and I have answered it." The meeting ended at 0300 hours in the morning when Yas rushed toward Yusuf, accusing him of apostasy. Yusuf Hasan Sa'id linked Babakr's new inclinations toward independence to an agreement between him and 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Rahman Naqdallah. By virtue of the agreement, Naqdallah would lead the Partisans' young people outside and Karrar would lead the Islamic Liberation Movement inside the university. The most important outcome of the meeting was the formation of a mediation committee under the chairmanship of Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir. Among its members were al-Rashid al-Tahir and some members of the second rank. The committee reached a temporary reconciliation, until a comprehensive exceptional conference was held to discuss all the issues of the movement, present solutions to all problems and swear allegiance to a new leadership in which everyone would have confidence. In addition, Yas 'Umar al-Imam proceeded to get in touch with the tributaries of the movement in the secondary schools (The Grandchildren, the Coptic College and Commerce), calling on them to press for the establishment of a general conference in which Khartoum and the regions would be represented in participation with the university and the secondary schools. Yusuf Hasan Sa'id wrote a 19-page memorandum on the positions of Babakr Karrar, which seem to have merited such a large number of pages.

(1) It is clear that this was not the reason for the dismissal, because Yusuf Hasan was not a unionist. Rather, the dismissal came as the result of Babakr Karrar's feeling that Yusuf and Mawlana were power centers which had started to predominate over him. He had to get rid of them. The focus of the struggle was not just the means for resolving the question of the connection with the Egyptian movement of the Muslim Brothers but also the desire and aspirations of rivals to dominate a movement which had grown and whose growth had exceeded their abilities, which resulted in the emergence of chaos of a sort, since the movement's intrinsic juridical, scholarly and legal resources were not up to its growing size and its basic role.

These were critical days in the life of the movement, since cultures proceeded to clash and people's views were in opposition. The membership for the first time started to hear new slogans about Islam, which had arisen basically on behalf of the hungry and downtrodden and people on whom tyranny lay directly (1), according to the expression prevalent at the time. This disturbed the people who had entered the movement because it was an educational movement which purified the spirit, performed works of altruism and sacrifice and improved worship. It had become clear that the shirt the leaders of the movement had cut at the end of the forties no longer fit a movement surrounded by the conditions of self-determination, autonomy and the first of the parliamentary elections. Therefore everyone was waiting for what has customarily become known as the Holiday Conference held in July 1954, which gave the Sudanese Islamic movement the final form and basic features by which it is still known.

The Islamic Movements and the First Signs of the Assumption of a Concrete Form

The Circumstances of the Shift to a Political Structure

The period 1952-54 was a critical period in the history of the Sudan and a decisive one as far as the currents of the Islamic movement were concerned, because it was a period in which new relations were created between Egypt and the Sudan with the elimination of the English trusteeship. This led to the appearance of obvious intellectual blocs among the active Islamic groups. To accentuate the spread of their foundations, they proceeded to face new circumstances, the circumstances of the shift from secret to overt activity and from a mere intellectual current to a political structure with obvious features, programs and goals and its own place, personality and name.

The Islamic Currents

There were three currents on the scene which were brought together by common elements, although each current tried to impose its legitimacy and dominance on the activity that existed there:

1. The Mass Brothers movement, which was led by 'Ali Taliballah. This considered itself just an organic extension of the Brothers' society in Egypt, which had started to atrophy and disappear, paving the way for the university current, which grew at its expense and won over its masses.

2. A bloc which called for authenticity and total independence with immediate initiative in carrying out political missions, that is, transformation

(1) Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf.

into a political party. This is the current of the Islamic Liberation Movement which emerged within the university faculty (1).

C [sic]. A bloc calling for the transplantation of the Egyptian experience and activity within the general framework and criteria of the Brothers' movement there, while retaining an independence that would allow reasonable freedom of movement, along with an emphasis on spiritual education (Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir and Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad 'Ali).

The Holiday Conference

The 1954 Holiday Conference was an arbiter among these currents, but before the conference each current started unconsciously seeking channels for making contacts and firmly establishing its appeal, for instance the Omdurman Cultural Club.

The Omdurman Cultural Club (or the Al-Darar Mosque) (2)

The Communists and the Omdurman Cultural Club

This was established in 1948 under the chairmanship of Mudwi Khalid Mudwi, with al-Tijani al-Tayyib as secretary. The Communists had dominated the club's committee and sought to adopt it as a point in which to assemble and set forth. Financing of the club was done through festivals and dues, but the committee's management of the club was a failure after a few years, and this resulted in its closure. During this period, the first signs of the rebellion against 'Ali Taliballah began to appear among some Brothers such as Hamid 'Umar and 'Uthman Jadallah, impelled by various motives, among them their removal from the club's executive committee by 'Ali Taliballah, which prompted them to seek a center through which they could continue their activity. They were finally led to the Omdurman Cultural Club.

The Reopening of the Omdurman Club under the Aegis of a Brothers' Committee

'Uthman Jadallah persuaded his relative Mudwi Khalid Mudwi to reopen the club, with the provision that the preparatory committee would take charge of paying the debts which had been frozen. The preparatory committee actually did pay the debts which had been frozen and settle the membership dues for

(1) We have seen that this same Islamic Liberation Movement current was subjected to an internal schism, but the schism did not affect the movement's cohesion. It will be subsequently apparent that the alienation of Babakr Karrar and Mirghani al-Nasri did not cause harm or obstruct the course of the movement later. One should bear in mind that these people belong to the generation of leaders on whose shoulders the movement came into being. In reality, Bloc C formed a close union with the current of the university, and Bloc C became a basic part of the actual nucleus of the Muslim Brothers' movement which exists today.

(2) The name was given by 'Ali Taliballah. I have tried to reconcile the accounts of Hamid 'Umar, 'Uthman Jadallah, 'Ali Taliballah and others in putting together the story of the club.

January, February, March and April 1952. On 1 May 1952 elections were held, the Communists were removed and 'Uthman Jadallah became secretary general of the club (1). Therefore it became an important center for the Brothers and their activities. Ahmad Hasan al-Baqir gave the first public lecture in the club toward the end of 1952. At that time, the Islamic movement proceeded to have two focuses of activity, the House of the Muslim Brothers, which 'Ali Taliballah had founded close to the National School in Omdurman, and the Cultural Club in al-Musalimah, which continued to hold that name until the advent of independence.

'Uthman Jadallah Defines the Club's Mission

'Ali Taliballah considered the leaders of the Omdurman club to be Communists and outsiders to the movement who had come only to destroy it. On the other hand, the club continued its mission and issued a number of brochures. It embarked on these by printing Muhammad Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir's lecture in a brochure "Our History in the Light of Islam." In the introduction, 'Uthman Jadallah discussed the club's mission: "This club is only a social organization which its overseers hope will be a beacon from which the illumination of Islam will radiate so that the young people sponging off the tables of Western culture may regain their confidence in their lord and their pride in their heritage.["] Therefore the mission of the club was to impart culture to people's minds, purify people's souls and provide training for people's bodies. This was the club's mission, in its general outlines. Its academic form was represented by the following:

1. A day for public lectures each week.
2. The Friday discussion, which would begin after the evening prayer and would deal with religious issues.
3. The Society of Lion Cubs, to provide an Islamic upbringing for children.
4. An athletic society which would engage in different types of sports (2).

(1) The club's committee included Hamid 'Umar al-Imam, Kamal Naqdallah, 'Uthman Jadallah, Ahmad al-Tanqari, 'Izz-al-Din al-Shaykh, Ahmad 'Awad al-Karim and Muhammad al-Zamzami. Most committee members were Brothers. The office of the Brothers defined the club's policies.

(2) Muhammad Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir, Our History in the Light of Islam, First Letter, Fu'ad Presses, May 1953, p 2. In 1954 the Omdurman Cultural Club was situated in a house near the present al-Amin 'Abd-al-Rahman mosque and the home of Shaykh 'Awad 'Umar west of the Paved Street and facing east. It then moved to the house of 'Ali Taliballah in the Lieutenants' Area east of the present Mobil Oil gas station, east of the Paved Street and southwest of the Omdurman National School. It was then closed after 'Abbud's coup of 1958. It faced west. Toward the end of the 'Abbud era, the Omdurman Cultural Club was opened in the area of the treasury, south of al-Sayyid 'Ali Street and east of the home of Mr Isma'il al-Azhari. It faced north and activity continued until the October 1964 revolution took place. During the October revolution, the activity shifted to the House of the Islamic Charter Front in the house situated on al-'Ardah Street north of the Omdurman police station and facing south.

The club continued to perform its mission until independence, when the organization shifted its activity to the house which 'Ali Taliballah inaugurated. The club was shut down because of a shortage of financial resources and was reopened again on the same basis in President 'Abbud's era in October 1959. It continued to function until the October 1964 revolution occurred (1).

Chapter Four

The Islamic Movement during the Period of Autonomy

The Autonomy Proposal

In December 1950, Muhammad Hajj al-Amin presented the Legislative Assembly's recommendation, of which this was the text: "It is our view, that of the members of the legislative assembly of the Sudan, that the Sudan has reached the stage in which it can be given autonomy, and we hope that your excellencies will contact the two condominium governments, thereby requesting that joint permission be given granting autonomy to the Sudan before the end of the second session of the first assembly and that the coming elections be held on this basis." The recommendation passed by one vote, since 39 supported it and 38 opposed it (2).

Al-Nahhas' Abrogation of the 1936 Agreement: The Document on the Parties

The assembly decree led to complications in the domestic and foreign contexts. Domestically, the assembly proved that it was not at all a pro forma agency, as the federalists had portrayed it. Abroad, a forceful, decisive Egyptian response was made with al-Nahhas Pasha's declaration on 1 October 1951 of the abrogation of the 1936 agreement and therefore the 1899 agreement on the condominium of the Sudan. This resulted in Egypt's shift toward a complex historical period, one consequence of which was the burning of Cairo in the evening of black Saturday, 26 January 1952. This in turn resulted in settling the circumstances of the assumption of power by the

(1) The Omdurman Cultural Club witnessed all the developments which occurred in conjunction with the Brothers' movement, starting in 1952. Its progressive lectures attracted capital society and it was always full of student activities. The first acting troupe was established in the club to embody and highlight the movement of the Islamic stage. It celebrated the holiday of the prophet's flight with the utmost success, and the Brothers' first conference was held in the club. Ahmad 'Awad al-Karim has another account regarding the shutdown of the club, which holds that its owner requested eviction. At that time the Brothers' new house had been opened and was more entitled to concentrated attention. One of the first receptions in the Brothers' house was the august meeting the whole capital hastened to attend, filling the house and the streets surrounding it, the night the Algerian revolution was launched, and Farhat Abbas and some members of the Algerian Revolutionary Council spoke at it.

(2) Henri Riyad, A Summary of the History of the Legislative Authority in the Sudan, pp 60-1.

Free Officers on 23 July 1952, which created radical changes in the structure of international and local relations in the region which accelerated the process and succession of events in the Sudan. This resulted in the four main Sudanese parties' agreement with Egypt on 1 January 1953 and this in its turn led to the consummation of the bilateral treaties between Egypt and England in February 1953 on the liquidation of the condominium and the preparation of a free, neutral climate for the holding of elections to the first Sudanese parliament in November 1953. This led to the establishment of the autonomy government on 6 January 1954 under the presidency of Isma'il al-Azhari, leader of the federal parties.

A. The Liberation Movement was no longer a student movement.

B. Small Institutions.

It was natural that these developments would meet with a response from the Islamic movement, to which struggles were drawn. In this period, certain members of the society -- the elitist, select current -- had graduated from Khartoum University or returned from Egypt, and it was no longer a student movement. It had one office for secondary schools and another for bodies outside the university, the external branches. The movement also devoted its attention to Madani, and established the Library of Islamic Thought, which Babakr Karrar founded and Musa Abu Zayd administered. The library proceeded to deal with the House of Young Muslims in Egypt, and the movement began to establish the "guidance" schools, which were not destined to succeed. Kindergartens were also established in Madani, but they quickly faded away. In addition, libraries of Islamic thought were established in 'Atbarah, al-Fashir and Karimah.

However, none of this diverted the movement from the focal question, which was, What was its name? What was its working format? What was its connection with the Islamic societies? What was its position on Egyptian-Sudanese relations? Through the movement members' impetus in proselytizing behind 'Ali Taliballah's back, the appeal was made for the conference to resolve these issues, and this conference, known as the Holiday Conference, was held as an important point of demarcation in the history of the movement, as a result of which it assumed the form and nature with which it progressed for the rest of its days.

The Holiday Conference

Taliballah's Rejection of the Holding of the Conference

The invitation to the holiday conference of 21 August 1954 included all personnel, whether they belonged to a liberation movement, were elitist Brothers or had a mass character. 'Ali Taliballah's account relates that one day he received a letter whose writer stated that he would prepare the conference in accordance with the office's decision. 'Ali asked the members of his office if there was a conference, and they answered him that an invitation had been made to hold a conference to discuss the movement's future and plans. At this point 'Ali Taliballah rejected the notion of the conference on grounds that it was not a legitimate conference, but of course that changed nothing in the situation.

The Conference Resolutions

The people attending the conference met at the Omdurman Cultural club for a number of days. Representing the students at the conference were 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Umran, 'Awad Muhammad 'Abdallah, Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf, Hasan al-Turabi, who became responsible for the university at that time, Ja'far al-Shaykh Idris, Hashim Hasan 'Urwah, Daf'allah al-Jazuli, al-Rashid al-Tahir Bakr, Muhammad Yusuf Muhammad, Mirghani al-Nasri, 'Abdallah Zakariya and Babakr Karrar. Representing the students in Egypt were 'Ali 'Abdallah Ya'qub, Muhammad al-Zamzami, 'Abd-al-Karim Muhammad 'Abd-al-Karim, the late 'Uthman Muhammad 'Abdallah and Ahmad al-Tijani 'Umar. Representing Omdurman were Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir, Ahmad Muhammad Babakr, 'Isa Makki, Ahmad 'Awad al-Karim, Yas 'Umar al-Imam and Hamid 'Umar al-Imam. Representing Khartoum Bahri were Ahmad Sharif Muhammad, Muhammad Ahmad al-Bashir, Ibrahim al-Bishari and 'Abbas Hasan al-Tum. Representing Khartoum were Salah Abu Naja, Zayn al-'Abidin Bilal, 'Umar Bakhit al-Awad and 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Rikabi. Representing 'Atbarah was 'Ali Muhammad, 'Uthman Daqil represented al-Abyad, and 'Abd-al-Hamid Muhammad Isma'il and dozens of other representatives represented Port Sudan (1). 'Awad Muhammad 'Abdallah managed the sessions while 'Abdallah Muhammad Badri, who attracted people's attention because of his young age, assumed the tasks of the secretariat. He had come as a representative of the Grandsons' Secondary School. After copious discussion, the conference concluded by:

1. Choosing a name (the Muslim Brothers) (2).
 2. [Deciding that it should be] independent of the proselytization movement and not have a connection to parties, while creating a special entity for proselytization.
 3. [Calling for] the open nature of proselytization.
 4. Devoting attention to the issue of the Islamic constitution.
 5. Dismissing 'Ali Taliballah.
 6. Forming an administration office which would be responsible for proselytization activity in all areas of the Sudan, under the chairmanship of Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir, with Mawlana Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad 'Ali as secretary (3) and Ahmad Muhammad Babakr, Yusuf Hasan Sa'id, 'Umar Bakhit al-'Awad, Yas 'Umar al-Imam and Ahmad Sharif as members. It should be noted here that although the movement concluded by adopting the formula of the Muslim Brothers, it put an end to the organic relationship with Egypt, the
- (1) One, 'Abbas Hasan al-Tum, two, Hamid 'Umar al-Imam, three, 'Ali Taliballah.
- (2) The format appeared in the constitution as "The Muslim Brothers, an Islamic movement situated in the Sudan."
- (3) He was the person who was assassinated in the incidents of the rebellion of August 1955 in the south.

relationship which 'Ali Taliballah's school of the masses had represented. It also rejected the formula of the leaders of the Liberation Movement, that is, absolute independence for the movement, which could have resulted in its isolation and evolution into a local grouping of limited activity and thought.

The Split among the Leaders of the Liberation Movement

At this point the first reaction occurred with the splitoff of a large faction of conference members under the leadership of Babakr Karrar (1), Mirghani Nasri, 'Abdallah Zakariya, Ahmad al-Tayyib Harhuf, 'Abdallah Muhammad Ahmad, Nasir al-Sayyid, Bishri Hamid Jabr al-Dar, Ja'far Muhammad 'Ali Bakhit, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Hamid and al-Dardiri Ibrahim. They rejected the resolutions of the conference, especially those related to the name, gave themselves the name of the Islamic Society and later issued a constitution and integrated program for themselves.

'Ali Taliballah's Reaction

The second reaction came from 'Ali Taliballah, who issued a statement in which he attacked the people from both groups at the conference and described them as "neither Brothers nor Muslims." He issued a bulletin dismissing them and called the conference "the conference of conspirators." He gave notice of his decisions (2) to the general office of the Brothers, which had been moved to Syria at that time, since the struggle between the Brothers in Egypt and the Free Officers at that time had reached a serious point as a result of which the general center of the Muslim Brothers was moved to Damascus, under circumstances where there were complications in Egypt and the

(1) Babakr Karrar essentially boycotted the conference, according to Yas 'Umar al-Imam's account, and did not attend at all. Mirghani Nasri and 'Abdallah Zakariya were elected to the new office and gave agreement only after nearly 2 months had elapsed. Muhammad 'Awad al-Karim supposed that Babakr attended the first meeting and did not like the discussions, which he felt would lead to the choice of the name and formula of the Muslim Brothers, which he considered would involve subordination, and therefore he did not attend the remaining sessions. Another account concludes that Babakr boycotted the conference because the age of some of the participants did not qualify them to take part. One condition of the conference was that the ages of some participants would not be less than 21 and that they have had an organizational career of 4 years.

(2) Of course 'Ali Taliballah had not imagined that action would be carried out under the banner of the Muslim Brothers without his leadership, since he was the one who represented the legitimate authority of the Brothers who had come from Egypt. However, the university current managed to preserve its independence and at that time to arm itself and deeply implant its thinking through the writings of the Egyptian Brothers, Hasan al-Banna, al-Ghazali and Sayyid Qutb. Perhaps it was the emergence of this tendency as an intermediate current between Babakr Karrar's excessive emphasis on localism and 'Ali Taliballah's inordinate internationalism that made it easy for it to acquire chances to continue to this day.

Arab world and a political shift in the Sudan. We will see how the course of the struggle between the officers' movement in Egypt and the Brothers affected the course of events in the Sudan.

The Struggle between the Officers and the Brothers in Egypt

The Return of Najib and the Blow to 'Abd-al-Nasir's Position

The year 1954 witnessed the violent struggle between the Brothers' movement and the Free Officers over the political and cultural future of Egypt, the form of the Brothers' dealings with the officers and the status of Muhammad Najib, as a prelude to addressing the nature of the future of the regime and the course of democracy. The force of the Free Officers, Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, tried to eliminate Muhammad Najib after the March 1954 events in the Sudan, since the disturbances which accompanied Najib's arrival to attend the inauguration of the first Sudanese parliament showed the strength of the current of the advocates of independence and resulted in undermining Najib's position, for part of the reason for his strength arose from his status as a symbol of federation between the Sudan and Egypt. This gave Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir a rare opportunity to settle his scores with Najib -- a settlement which had been spoiled when the Brothers sided with Najib, especially during the days of the ordeal of 24-27 February 1954, when he returned to his position, strengthened and honored by the force of the masses, led basically by the Muslim Brothers, after he had submitted his resignation on 24 February 1954, giving the reason that it was impossible for him to cooperate with the Free Officers' force. Najib's return meant the triumph of his programs and conditions (1), as appeared in the 25 March 1954 resolutions on the restoration of democracy.

The Background of the Liquidation of the Brothers, With the Conscience of the Sudanese Sympathizing with the Brothers; Ahmad Ahmad Muhammad Salih Feels Sorrow for the Brothers and Najib

The February events represented the historic background of the October 1954 events; that led to the Brothers' second ordeal (2), which led to the attempt to trap them for once and for all. The second stage of the struggle erupted after Najib and the Brothers had won the first round, as we have seen, with the reopening of the file on the Egyptian cause and the review of the 1936 agreement, since as soon as the first glimmers of agreement appeared, the Brothers opposed it, and this led to their arrest and the trial of their officers, 'Abd-al-Mun'im 'Abd-al-Ra'uf and his group. This led to the sudden worsening of Najib's position and his departure from the scene of events. That was reflected in the poem by Ahmad Muhammad Salih "To Najib in His Exaltedness" which was issued on 27 July, the day the heads of agreement with Britain were signed, in which he declared to the Brothers:

"Woe to Egypt, what has befallen its people!

"They have continued on blindly with their vengeance.

(1) See Richard Mitchell, pp 133-136.

(2) Kublan, the League of Nations, translated by Marwan Khayri, p 182-85.

"They have given free rein to their emotions and a tumultuous

"Dissension took place that left them no 'Brothers.'"

The Jamal-Hyde Agreement and Its Effects

The mutual understanding reached a point of no return after the Jamal-Hyde agreement of 19 October 1954, which permitted the English a base in the canal, along with their right to use Egyptian harbors and airports in the event Turkey or any Arab country was exposed to danger. That set off all the old disputes and prompted the Brothers to raise the slogan of "Evacuation by blood." This all resulted in a series of struggles which ended with the attempt to assassinate Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir in Alexandria on 26 October 1954, an attempt that imparted a dramatic atmosphere which the officers exploited in order to liquidate the Muslim Brothers' movement, arrest its members, expropriate its possessions and execute six leaders of the group on 9 December 1954 -- Muhammad 'Abd-al-Latif, Hindawi Dir, Ibrahim al-Tayyib, Yusuf Tal'at, Shaykh Muhammad Farghali and 'Abd-al-Qadir 'Awn [sic] -- the support [sic] of others and the sentencing of hundreds to various long periods (1).

Coordination of the Demonstrations with Azhari; The Chamber of Deputies Performs the Prayer of the Departed; The Memorandum of Federation

This attack on the Brothers created sympathy with the Brothers within Sudanese public opinion, even as far as the Communists were concerned (2). Demonstrations broke out in Omdurman, Khartoum, Madani, 'Atbarah, al-Abyad, al-Hasahisa, Sannar and al-Fashir protesting against the officers' regime and declaring their receptivity to the Brothers. 'Ali Taliballah recounted that he had reached agreement with Isma'il al-Azhari that the police would not stand in the way of the demonstrations, and this prolonged the life of the demonstrations (3). The Brothers' ordeal brought together the three currents of the Islamic movement, which tentatively united to mobilize the

(1) See Mitchell, pp 133-151.

(2) 'Ali Taliballah.

(3) According to Abdallah Sulayman's account, the police did obstruct the Brothers' demonstrations and arrested a group which was brought to trial and against which the English judge imposed sentences of fines and [violations of] good behavior and conduct. Among the people tried were the late Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad 'Ali who at that time was a teacher at Wadi Sayyidna secondary school, 'Abdallah al-Mubashshir, who was a student in the faculty of Khartoum University, and 'Abdallah Sulayman, who was a student in Wadi Sayyidna secondary school. The Brother Ahmad Sharif, from the Khartoum Bahri branch, paid their bail. The Brother and laborer Muhammad al-Hasan also received an injury in the Khartoum demonstration, in the form of a deep wound whose scars he still carries.

Sudanese people against the force of the Free Officers (1). 'Ali Taliballah formed the Military Dictatorship National Front [sic], with himself as chairman; the al-Ummah Party and the Communists were represented in it. The members of the Chamber of Deputies also performed the prayer of the departed over the spirits of the martyred Brothers (2). This was an effective element in getting the federalists to propound the notion of unity and finally, as Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub claimed (3), rally around the memorandum of federation of the students of Khartoum University, in Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf's term, and declare agreement with the al-Ummah Party over total independence from within parliament. The memorandum was issued demanding total independence, a guarantee of freedoms and the refusal to tie our country to military pacts and political camps which would affect our sovereignty.

Among the reasons which led to the federalists' orientation toward total independence from Egypt, in addition to the events of March 1954 and August 1955, were Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir's position on the movement of the Brothers in Egypt (4) and the Sudanese people's fear of dictatorship and their fear that it would be applied to the Sudan, in addition to the inflammation of the nationalist spirit due to the slogans of independence. In the midst of these events, the Egyptian authorities demanded that the Egyptian Brothers Jamal 'Ammar and Mustafa Jabr, who had fled, be handed over, but that did not happen, owing to the sympathy of the authorities here with the Brothers. This represented the first venture toward independence on the part of the autonomy government (5).

In addition, the Brothers supported the autonomy agreement (6), while the Communists opposed it in an extreme fashion and issued the booklet *The Sudan in the Balance* (Qasim Amin), stating, in regard to it "It is to be rejected even if it comes as a woman [sic] of every flaw."

(1) According to Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf's account, 'Abd-al-Qadir 'Awdah wrote a letter to al-Rashid al-Tahir in which he told him "The Islamic movement in the Sudan has been the only lung through which we have breathed." Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir's account also stated that they collected contributions of 5,000 pounds for the families of the arrested persons, which a delegation secretly brought to Egypt.

(2) Muhammad Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir.

(3) Muhammad Sulayman, *The Sudanese Left in a Decade*.

(4) P. M. Holt, *A Modern History of the Sudan*, p 168. Mudathir Abd al-Rehim, *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Sudan*, p 225.

(5) 'Ali Taliballah and 'Uthman Jadallah.

(6) Al-Azhari's sympathy with the Brothers was manifest. That was perhaps out of an evaluation on his part, as he was a judicious politician, that it would be better to win the Brothers over, especially since he had determined to declare the Sudan's independence. The Brothers' demonstrations in Khartoum raised the slogan of independence.

Development of the Three Movements at the Time of Independence

'Ali Taliballah's Branch

'Ali Taliballah notified the Brothers' general center in Syria of what had happened. At this point, in 1955, Abu al-Makarim 'Abd-al-Hayy made his appearance (1). He expressed his sympathy with 'Ali Taliballah although he was unable to do anything, since groups of the Brothers gave their blessings to the tendency toward mediation which linked the movement to that of the Egyptian Brothers intellectually but was independent of it as a movement. Abu al-Makarim returned and Sa'id Ramadan came directly after him (2). He persuaded 'Ali Taliballah to cooperate with the new current. It appears that a new committee was formed as a result of Sa'id Ramadan's efforts which 'Ali Taliballah was happy with. This committee came back again, to be known by the name of the al-Rashid al-Tahir committee; its appearance coincided with the independence of the Sudan (3).

However, 'Ali Taliballah no longer had any role in political life after that until the October 1964 revolution and contented himself with consecrating his activity to the al-Nur family, a family devoted to reading and studying the Koran in depth, among whose most prominent members were the late Dr al-Baqir Ibrahim, the eye specialist, and 'Abdallah al-Sawi. A constant element

(1) Abu al-Makarim 'Abd-al-Hayy was an Egyptian officer who established the Free Officers' movement in Egypt which did away with Faruq and he was a member of the Society of Muslim Brothers and founder of the special agency which carried out military and security missions in the Brothers' organization. He escaped from Egypt after the events of October 1954 and was sentenced to death by firing squad in absentia along with 'Abd-al-Mun'im 'Abd-al-Ra'uf.

(2) Sa'id Ramadan was one of the most prominent leaders of the movement of the Brothers at that time. After that, he headed the Geneva Islamic center and was editor of the magazine AL-MUSLIMUN. He wrote numerous works. He left Egypt before the 1954 events and was deprived of Egyptian nationality by the Revolutionary Council on 23 September 1954, along with 'Abd-al-Hakim 'Abidin, Sa'd-al-Din Abu Layl, Muhammad Najib Jufil, Kamil Isma'il Sharif and the Wafdist journalist Muhammad Abu al-Fattuh, owner of the newspaper AL-MISRI.

(3) Al-Rashid al-Tahir succeeded Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir in leadership of the society. What perhaps helped al-Rashid al-Tahir assume the succession is that at time he was the most prominent person present, since he was a lawyer, while Muhammad Yusuf went and settled down as a lawyer in al-Abyad, Hasan al-Turabi traveled to Britain to prepare for an examination and Mawlana Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad 'Ali died. Al-Rashid al-Tahir had previously acted as an intermediary with Salah Salim on the question of the Brothers in Egypt. Al-Rashid related that they, as a federation, held a party for Salah Salim at the time of his visit to the Sudan, and when he returned again they asked to meet him and addressed him on the subject of the Brothers and their release. He promised them that he would convey their request to the authorities in Egypt.

which may have played a role in the alienation of 'Ali Taliballah was that at that time, that is, at the time of the dispute, he was nearly 40 years of age, while most leaders of the liberation movement at that time were in their mid-twenties; this meant that the age difference had an effect in isolating 'Ali Taliballah, who did not have the strength to comport himself with a young person's mentality.

Development of the Movement of the Muslim Brothers (the Conference Society)

The Dominance of the Conference Society Movement

This movement managed to impose its presence and become the legitimate heir of Islamic action in the educational institutions -- the university faculty and the secondary schools. Thus, it was destined to dominate. One of the most prominent characteristics of this movement was the memorandum of the Federation of Students of Khartoum University of 15 January 1955 calling for the independence of the Sudan.

Moreover, the new executive committee and its secretary, al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir, proceeded to assemble the Brothers in small groups and draw up an educational curriculum which at that time they called individual education, where the members of the society would become a model for others, in representing Islam, understanding its concepts and emulating the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, in his public and private conduct. The movement did not have political ties, but it made good use of the Omdurman Cultural Club in stimulating cultural and intellectual activity and it operated missions. However, this committee was not able to continue, because of the touchy feelings which began to manifest themselves between 'Ali Taliballah and the new committee. Then Muhammad Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir was new to the circumstances of activity in the Sudan, and therefore did not tolerate the climate of struggle (1). Therefore he was replaced by al-Rashid al-Tahir at the 1955 conference.

Independence [and] the Newspaper AL-JIHAD

However, that did not affect the activity of specific individuals, who managed to work their way into AL-JIHAD newspaper (2), which was issued by

(1) Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir was a graduate of Wadi Sayyidna and began his university study in the faculty of Khartoum University, then enrolled in Cairo University in Egypt and returned to the Sudan in January 1954. He made efforts to establish foundations for action but after a while found it preferable to abandon the work of his own accord, in view of the rift which had afflicted the movement, a situation which was not in keeping with his conception of what the condition of the appeal should be. After al-Rashid al-Tahir assumed the succession, al-Rashid contacted Muhammad al-Khayr to return to the organization, but Muhammad al-Khayr demurred. Among other things, his reply stated that he "preferred not to be in contact with any organization, but he would continue his work for the sake of Islam in his personal capacity."

(2) According to Yas 'Umar's account, AL-JIHAD newspaper had no link to the Brothers, organizationally or intellectually, since the newspaper was loyal to the Independence Party under the leadership of Mirghani Hamzah, and Khalafallah Khalid 'Uthman Jadallah had joined their current at that time.

'Abd-al-Mun'im Hasaballah (Khatmi), since he took 'Uthman Jadallah, Mudath-thir 'Abd-al-Rahim and 'Abdallah Muhammad Ahmad, and they soon constituted a family for editing the newspaper. They put out several dozen issues, then stopped for material reasons. The movement also had active literary figures, the best of whom were 'Ali 'Abd-al-Rahman and Babakr Badawi al-Dashin, with their poetry, and al-Dardiri Ibrahim with his satiric articles *Memoirs of a Hen*, which were basically aimed at the Communists.

The conference committee was eliminated and Muhammad al-Khayr removed himself from the stage, especially after Muhammad Ahmad Muhammad 'Ali left and died in the south. This paved the way for more vigorous and active personnel, that is, the committee of al-Rashid al-Tahir, Muhammad Yusuf, 'Umar Bakhit al-Awad, Ahmad 'Awad al-Karim, Kamal 'Ali Naqdallah, Ahmad Sharif, Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf and Yas 'Umar al-Imam. This new committee oriented itself toward mass action, open participation in political causes, the treatment of general issues and the pursuit of its path within the political party.

The Islamic Society

This assumed form on the foundation of the first leaders of the liberation movement, and declared its activity 2 days after the Holiday Conference ended. Political concerns dominated its activities and Babakr Karrar was considered the fulcrum of the movement. He was a strong personality, intellectually outstanding and influenced by al-Imam al-Mahdi. However, in spite of that, the Brothers may have found fault with him for his weakness in the areas of Islamic jurisprudence, of which the Brothers were enamored. In any event, the Brothers abandoned him when he abandoned them (1).

The Communists of Islam: The Islamic Adherents' Criticism of Babakr Karrar and His Group (2)

The Islamic Group brought educated elitist personnel together but rushed headlong into political action without being governed by Salafiyah rules of jurisprudence, to the point where as soon as the group's program and constitution appeared they were accused of being Communists, since some economic features of Marxist thinking appeared in the program. This provided 'Ali Hasan Najilah with an article readymade for public opinion at that time under the title *The Communists of Islam*. Although Babakr Karrar derived his Islamic status from his struggle with the Communists, he concurred with them on various positions, the most prominent of which was his opposition to the law on destructive activity, his signing of the Communists' memorandum ("The issuance of a new law under the veil of combatting Communism alone, or any other veil, will be a restriction of the citizens' freedoms, will prevent the establishment of a neutral, free atmosphere and will be a weapon for applying pressure on Sudanese to relinquish their independence and national

(1) Hamid 'Umar al-Imam and Mirghani al-Nasri.

(2) Information derived from Mirghani al-Nasri.

sovereignty ["]) (1), their support for Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and Arab socialism beginning in 1956, Babakr's view on the Islamic penalty for adultery and on confining it to flogging, on grounds that the womb is not a property of religion, his siding with the Communists' camp and Babakr's signing of the progressives' memorandum bearing on the famous Wednesday incidents at the University of Khartoum on 6 November 1968, in addition to the Islamic Group's participation in the Afro-Asian solidarity conferences, conferences toward which the Brothers did not take a hostile position though their position was negative, on grounds that they were a manifestation of leftist thinking.

The Constitution of the Islamic Society: The Society's Ownership of the Means of Production

A constitution and program for the Islamic Society emerged (2) directly after its secession. The constitution stipulated that the goal was to achieve Islam in the actual conditions of life through the establishment of a free, wholly sovereign Islamic republic. Another paragraph stipulated the elimination of feudalism and the transfer of the ownership of all land and the resources it contained to collective ownership and its distribution according to the rule of "the land to him who works it" and two [sic], the absolute elimination of the capitalist system and the transfer of the means of production and distribution to collective ownership.

The Group's Program

The program consisted of a brochure titled The Islamic Society in Terms of Appeal and Platform (3). It comprised 64 pages, shed light on the goals of the society and sought firmly to implant the society's position on the issues of ownership in theoretical and practical terms through the ideas of al-Imam al-Mahdi which were scattered among publications and his practical conduct with his companions. The program devoted a chapter to the combative policy of the Islamic Group: "The society is not ignorant of the schemes which some Islamic groups and some intellectual leaders followed toward the end of the 19th century and the early part of this, the 20th century ["] (4). "Some people ask about the society's link with the Society of the Muslim Brothers. The Islamic Society places the societies of the Brothers in the vanguard of the societies God has honored with precedence and misfortune; the society always takes a united position with them and stands with a single hand to realize the call to Islam in the actual conditions of Islam. As regards parties, the society is not against the presence of a number of

(1) See The Sudanese Left in a Decade, p 77, quotation from AL-MAYDAN, No 15, 25 October 1954.

(2) The Islamic Society's constitution and program are in the possession of the movement's leaders. I sought the aid here of Mirghani al-Nasri's copy.

(3) The Islamic Society, Movement and Platform, pp 15, 16.

(4) 'Umar Bakhit al-'Awad formulated a statement in a response to The Islamic Society, Movement and Platform, and Hasan al-Turabi reviewed it. The complete statement can be found with the documents.

parties, but party management exists, because it derives its philosophy and its principles from thinking [""] (1). "The class adherent is the one who enables a specific class of people who own capital and land and are religious reactionaries to control power." In the discussion of the army (2), the movement was apposed to the expanded procurement of military arms, because that would exposed the country to the danger of military dictatorships and would remove the presence of the people from the spirit of military life and holy war.

Although the group managed to establish its intellectual structures at a relatively early time and had an opinion on every issue, it continued to be the prisoner of theoretical framework and failed to win status among the masses. It appears that this was attributable to:

The Reasons for the Decline of the Society

1. The leaders of the group were subjective in their conduct and their positions and were elitist in their thinking, which alienated them from the masses.
2. Their program to a large extent consisted of compromise between Islamic and Marxist thought, which alienated the two parties from them. The Marxists contented themselves with their Marxism and the adherents of Islam depended on their adherence to Islam.
3. They erred in interpreting the magnitude of the influence of the Brothers' Egyptian movement on the base of the movement and the power of the popular current, which reacted to the Egyptian experience, over the development of the movement.

The Charter of the Islamic Socialist Party

In addition, the Islamic Group left no imprints on public activity and they contented themselves from 1957 on with supporting 'Abd-al-Nasir. No influence of theirs was apparent in the era of 'Abbud (3), although they returned after the October revolution under the name of the Islamic Socialist Party and issued the newspaper AL-ISHTIRAKI AL-ISLAMI and another charter in 1966 (4). The new charter takes up 74 medium-sized pages. The new charter contains a major retreat from the ideas the 1954 program specified since, in the chapter on ownership, they contented themselves with the nationalization of foreign trade, foreign banks and insurance companies and the

(1) The Islamic Society, Movement and Platform, pp 15, 16.

(2) Op. cit., p 64.

(3) They contented themselves with issuing the newspaper AL-ISHTIRAKIYAH WAL-RIYADAH which was edited by Babakr Karrar in the era of Muhammad Tal'at Farid.

(4) See the basic charter of the Islamic Socialist Party for 1966, Sudan Library.

establishment of production relations on the basis of partnership. The charter advocates the liberation of women, the propagation of general freedoms and the provision of an Islamic upbringing for the armed forces which will enable them to possess lofty moral attributes. The charter devotes a chapter to the party's organizations and the conditions of membership, that is, the attainment of 18 years (otherwise the person will be considered consigned to oblivion).

However, in spite of that, the Islamic Society played no positive role in political activity after the fifties (1). In Mirghani al-Nasri's view, the dispute between the Islamic Society and the Muslim Brothers was one which time had settled and it had become apparent that the society's place was now with its original roots among the Muslim Brothers (2).

The Development of the Movement of the Muslim Brothers, 1956-1958: The Diminution of the Muslim Brothers' Role

With the advent of the new leadership, al-Rashid al-Tahir's office, a major turning point occurred in the Brothers' organization which manifested itself in intellectual harmonization between the mass leadership and the student bases and other elitist offshoots which the universities and schools had brought to prominence within the society. Although al-Rashid al-Tahir, the general overseer of the Muslim Brothers in accordance with the new terminology, expanded his ties with the leaders of the Brothers in Syria and took part in the Islamic action leaders' 1957 conference in Damascus, that proceeded from a premise of parity and was not an offshoot, since, with the advent of the leadership, the role of the Egyptian Brothers present in the Sudan among the masses became diminished (3).

(1) This is not to deny the important roles played by Babakr Karrar, and Mirghani al-Nasri as chairman of the Lawyers' Union. In the October revolution, they played a prominent, positive role in the authorities' regime and its formation and disappearance. Mirghani al-Nasri also had a prominent role in expelling the Communist Party from parliament, and they all performed important political initiatives whose fruits others may perhaps have gleaned.

(2) Following the conference and the formation of the Islamic Society at the end of 1954, they were effective in recruiting the most active leaders in the higher secondary schools in an attempt to form bases in the schools for themselves. In addition, a number of major elements of discussion took place between the Islamic Society and the Muslim Brothers in the secondary schools, in particular the schools of the capital, since they were close to Khartoum University, the center of polarization and struggle. They made a big campaign and lofty, major resources. However, the returns were minor and the people who joined them retreated to the ranks of the Brothers, perhaps because of everyone's feeling that the force of right did not support such activity and movement.

(3) The likes of 'Ali Shahatah, Mustafa Jabr Ahmad, Jamal 'Ammar, 'Abd-al-Rashid al-Hazawi and Zakariya al-Baradi'i, who were appointed professors and assumed the leadership of the closed families and educational guidance.

As we have seen, the Brothers' movement started among the students, without a specific platform or conception of change. However, the experience of activity in student federations, the different types of clashes with conflicting currents and the severe insistence calling on the the movement to determine its programs and goals caused the movement's thinking to assume concrete form in the direction of programming and defining goals. The movement also started to evolve from that of a religious society to a society for applying pressure with political goals. The movement, under the command of the new leadership, started, as it assumed concrete form, to develop into a political party. In addition, 'Abd-al-Nasir's enmity toward the Brothers in Egypt caused the Brothers in the Sudan to differ with the government of Egypt, and they became enemies of the Egyptian regime. This strengthened the current of the adherents of independence within the movement, and the movement gradually started to take the approach of becoming an independence movement whose tendencies grew so close to the al-Ummah Party that al-Rashid al-Tahir, the general overseer, thought of placing himself in the list of al-Ummah Party candidates in the second elections (1).

In addition, as a result of dominance by personnel who had graduated from Khartoum University, the movement became one of independence which, as Muhammad Yusuf expressed it, for traditional political considerations tended toward independence "which seems silent but is a Sudanese conviction" (3).

The abovementioned categorizations, as facts about the Brothers -- "a movement of a religious society," "a group for imposing pressure," "a comprehensive political movement" -- express the development of the Brothers' aspirations and the increasing growth of their size within the society. They constituted overlapping circles and were a natural development in keeping with the nature of things; the course of the society itself imposed these circles.

The Issue of the Islamic Constitution

One recommendation of the Holiday Conference was that emphasis should be placed on the issue of the Islamic constitution. This cause enjoyed advocacy in the period after autonomy, for several reasons:

1. The development of the constitution, which began with the autonomy decree in 1952, consisted of the recommendations of the Stanley Baker constitution committee. This was amended in early 1956 with independence to become the temporary constitution of the Sudan, which had to end up as a permanent constitution which would satisfy post-independence aspirations. Therefore, the constitution was the issue of the day in Sudanese politics after independence.

- (1) Al-Rashid al-Tahir considered that this was a political tactic and a quick way to bring the Brothers into the limelight and decisionmaking centers. He was rebuked for that at that time, especially as regards the commander of the group.

- (2) Interview with Muhammad Yusuf the lawyer.

2. Legal education predominated in the new office of the Brothers; most members of the office were lawyers or graduates of law faculties -- al-Rashid al-Tahir, Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf, 'Umar Bakhit al-'Awad, Muhammad Yusuf, Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid and Tawfiq Taha. Therefore they used the issue of legislation as a way to enter into political action. On top of that, the same tendency became prominent in Egypt; this influence may have moved over to the Sudan. The explanation for the dominance of legal personnel in Egypt is that since the twenties the Egyptian cause was one of negotiations with the English (1).

3. The issue of legislation was a simplified one and an easy avenue by which to present the religious crisis. All elements with a religious background or education could rally around it on common ground. The Brothers' new movement succeeded in presenting the issue of the Islamic constitution through the struggle of the Islamic Front for the Constitution, which was formed in the house of the Society of Islamic Proselytization in Omdurman on Saturday 10 December 1955.

The Newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN

The same period witnessed the issuance of the newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, which started to come out on 26 June 1956. The idea began in early 1955, when the Brothers thought of setting up a press. They founded a movement and paved the way for contributions to the Brothers, but no press was set up. The project of the newspaper was a next step, and al-Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, who established its headquarters in the Arab market in the building of the independence newspapers, devoted himself to it full time. He started to publish it in the presses of the newspaper AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM. Sadiq was the only employee of the newspaper, which published 3,000 copies, most of which went to schools. The newspaper did not enjoy assistance from commercial advertisements; therefore, it often lost money. Its distribution was taken over by Taha Muhammad Ahmad and Adam Ahmad Hamid. The whole editorial family consisted of amateurs. They were the late 'Umar 'Abbas 'Ajabna and Mubarak Adam, then, in the middle of 1957, Yasan [sic] 'Umar al-Imam, Muhammad 'Umar al-Khidr and Taha Muhammad Ahmad al-Hadi, who joined the editorial family as people available to work full time. Its source of news was the radio, the bulletin of the Ministry of Social Affairs and the African bulletin of 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhktar, in addition to the news of the university and political news. Finally, Sadiq in 1957 was directed to a press which he purchased for 300 pounds in 10 instalments, at a rate of 30 pounds per instalment (2).

(1) Legal personnel were also dominant in the movement of the Muslim Brothers -- Hasan al-Hudaybi, 'Abd-al-Qadir 'Awdah, Hasan 'Athmawi [sic] and 'Umar al-Talmasani. The explanation for that might be in part the choices of al-Hudaybi the judge. Al-Hudaybi perhaps wanted to improve the image of the movement, since after the assassination of al-Banna people's opinion of it as a movement outside the framework of the law and the government began to be conspicuous. However, it has been established that most of the leaders of the Egyptian national movement were men of the law.

(2) Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid. Sadiq bought the press from Bashir Muhammad Sa'id, who when he finished describing the benefits of the press [said] he "would not advise a friend to buy it."

The Format of the Newspaper

The typeface and format of the newspaper resembled that of the newspaper AL-DA'WAH which Salih 'Ashmawi issued in Egypt. Its symbol was the [phrase] The Muslim Brothers with two crossed swords, between which was a Koran over a torch. It occasionally came out under the slogan "Commitment alongside the Truth," and sometimes it was issued without any slogan.

Women in the Brothers' Organization

This period also witnessed female personnel in public activity. The first woman to be brought in was Fatimah Talib in 1949, into the Liberation Movement, followed by Su'ad al-Fatih in 1951 (1), then Thurayya Imbabi. Then gradually the current was formed which expressed itself in the weekly magazine AL-MANAR AL-ISLAMI (3). Female students started the Sisters' movement; the Brothers' movement remained a movement of female graduates and students and did not become a popular social movement. Among the explanations for that, as well as the general circumstances of Sudanese society, are that:

1. The presence of women in the Brother's organization was marginal, and the explanation for that is that the educational movement, the framework of the Brothers' movement, was weak among women and the Brothers' remained a movement of educated people.
2. The Brothers' literature dealing with women's issues was scanty and the movement continued to rely on Egyptian publications.
3. The notions of many Islamic jurists concerning women were notions of introversion [sic].
4. Sudanese social practices which women began to rebel against seeped unconsciously into the first generation of the adherents of Islam and became religious in character, which resulted in the isolation of women, so that they did not participate in the executive offices of the organization and other political and union duties.

(1) Muhammad Yusuf.

(2) After the Holiday Conference, the Brothers formed an office for women in the agencies which included Muhammad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir, Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf, Ahmad 'Awad al-Karim, Su'ad al-Fatih, Thurayya Imbabi, Fatimah Talib, 'Awatif al-Shaykh, Buthaynah al-Qawsi, Kalthum 'Umar and Zakiyah Makki. The office met once a week on a regular basis and issued an internal magazine which was distributed to all Brothers in the university and secondary schools. This magazine developed and became the AL-MANAR magazine. The Brothers' organization managed to acquire the Society of Women's Resurgence and its house close to the radio station and engaged in major, noticeable activity. Its house, close to the radio station, witnessed many women's exhibitions, philanthropic festivals and lectures, all of which had an Islamic character. This effort had a great social effect which managed to eliminate the false picture the Communists had painted of the Brothers as enemies of women.

5. Adverse publicity, which portrayed the Brothers as enemies of the women's movement for social liberation.

6. The Brothers' slogans, for instance, the slogan of the Islamic constitution, were not effective in attracting women, and the division of the organization into one for men, which dominated, and one for women, at the bottom of the ladder, reduced the effectiveness of female personnel.

On the Side of Liberation Movements

The Brothers' movement in the 1956 period took a revolutionary turn, since it took part in establishing the Chad Liberation Movement (Frolina) and the Movement for the Liberation of Eritrea (1). A number of their leaders repaired to their homes (the home of Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid) but the weight of support was in favor of the Palestinian and Algerian revolutions. They were also in sympathy with the movement of Mohamed the Fifth, which had a religious flavor, supported Mosaddeq's government in Iran and held demonstrations in support of them. The Brothers, at their evening meetings, constantly referred to the cause of Palestine and Kashmir and promoted Ayatollah Kashani and the organization of the Fedayan-e Eslam.

The Official Rift between the Brothers and the Federalists

The Jawdah incident of 17-18 February 1956 (2) is considered the beginning of the official rift between the Federalists and the Muslim Brothers, since the Brothers attacked President Azhari, who was also prime minister and minister of the interior (3) for a period of 2 years (4), and ran massive demonstrations from the University of Dawrah (Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf) against the federalists. The streets brought them together with the al-Ummah Party and the Communists and they continued for the rest of the year to mobilize and remind people of the Jawdah incident. This was another reason which led to the withdrawal of confidence from Azhari's cabinet and its fall on 4 July 1956.

(1) See AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, Monday 13 May 1957, No 16, Eritrea, Behind the Wall (five successive instalments).

(2) The Jawdah case bore on the refusal of 700 farmers on the White Nile to hand over cotton because of a delay in the payments they were owed. They went out on 18 February 1956 on a march, in the course of which they clashed with the police. Two hundred eighty-one farmers were seized and thrown in the Jawdah storehouse, where 189 of them died of suffocation. See the press in that period and the book by Ahmad Hasan Matar, Believe It or Not, pp 1, 2, 5.

(3) See AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, Thursday, 29 May 1958, A Journalistic Report on the Case of the Jawdah Farmers, AL-IKHWAN, Presenting a [illegible] Picture of the Tragedy of Jawdah in the Kusti Court, and AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, 29 February 1952 [sic], The Jawdah Martyrs: A Year Has Elapsed: What Has the Government Done on Their Behalf?

(4) Sadiq 'Abdallah.

The Brothers in the Sudan welcomed Islamic connections as a result of continuous contacts with the Brothers in Egypt and elsewhere. When the Brothers' ordeal occurred in Egypt, they were fought on a devastating scale, the authorities persecuted their families and they were deprived of all forms of aid, the Brothers in the Sudan started to send sums of money to help them in the ordeal, for distribution among Brothers who were in prison or those who had been killed, resembling the faithful in their friendly relations, compassion and so forth.

With the Revolution of Algeria

In 1952 [sic] the movement brought its strength to bear on the side of the Algerian revolution; indeed, their newspaper even launched an attack on people who answered invitations from the French embassy in Khartoum: "Last Saturday evening the French embassy in Khartoum sent written invitations to a number of citizens to attend its Independence Day celebration, and big, prominent people rushed to the building of the embassy -- the flies rushed to the places of filth and moral defilement, shaking hands stained with the blood of free men, undeterred by shame, unhampered by pride and unmoved by conscience ["] (1). The newspaper AL-IKHWAN appeared in July 1957 under the title "Help -- The Algerian People Are Being Exterminated." Number 80, 2 September 1957, consisted of a special issue on Algeria costing 5 piasters. Even the sports section, which 'Ali Shamu edited, appeared under the title "Sports and the Week of Algeria." An article by al-Rashid al-Tahir appeared in the issue under the title "Muslims, the Caller to Prayer Has Called the Prayer to Holy War." The Brothers led a movement in support of the people of Algeria which led to the birth of the Council of Solidarity with the Algerian People under the chairmanship of Prof Makki Shabikah, and Yas 'Umar al-Imam worked as a publicity secretary. The committee members included Miss Su'ad al-Fatih and Miss Thurayya Imbabi (who were unmarried at that time). The Brother's newspaper, on 22 September 1958, showed the Muslim Brothers' general overseer greeting the government of Algeria.

The Agreement on the Nile Waters

The Brothers addressed themselves to the issue of the waters of the Nile and the Brothers' newspaper worked to mobilize them against the agreement (the 1929 agreement): "The agreement on the waters of the Nile is not binding, is unfair and paralyzes agricultural progress in the Sudan. The Sudan has made laudable efforts, but the rulers of Egypt are stubborn. The Egyptian press is a trumpet for all the people who dominate Egypt" (2).

The Brothers carried out a thorough study in a 30-page report on the agreement on the Nile waters and it was distributed by mail to senior officials, politicians, prominent figures in the capital and others. It engaged in a criticism and analysis of the agreement. It was prepared by a committee of Brothers who were familiar with it, and was distributed by mail and put in

(1) AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, 16 July 1957, al-Rashid al-Tahir, Light on the Shadow.

(2) Light on the Shadow, AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, 22 September 1958.

different places in the capital so that it would not attract attention and be confiscated.

Support for the Revolution of Iraq

The Brothers also supported the revolution of Iraq and called for recognition of this revolution, which had driven out the regime of Faysal and Nur[i] al-Sa'id, when the Iraqi people erupted on 14 July, rebelled against colonialism and its puppets and eliminated the tyranny that was embodied in the decrepit monarchical regime and the treasonous puppet regime of Nuri al-Sa'id. The Muslim Brothers considered the revolution of Iraq the beginning of the collapse of colonialism in the Arab East. The article went on to recommend the "holding of a conference for the immediate recognition of the government and a telegram of salutation to Qasim" (1).

Condemnation of the Americans' Intervention in Lebanon

The Brothers at that time also condemned the Americans' intervention in Lebanon. This intervention was dictated by the circumstances of the Iraqi revolution, whose influence had started to spread: "The Muslim Brothers in these decisive moments of the history of the world urge the glorious Sudanese people, with all their parties and bodies, to stand as a single rank condemning American intervention in the affairs of Lebanon and English intervention in the affairs of Jordan" (2). The Brothers' paper published the poem New Baghdad by the Sudanese poet Muhyi-al-Din Faris:

"This new Baghdad has come back

"Once again as a building of strength."

Voluntary Activity by the Brothers in the Battle of the Canal

In spite of the magnitude of the rift between the Brothers and the Egyptian regime, young people in the Brothers throughout secondary schools and the university volunteered and responded to the call for holy war during the tripartite aggression against Egypt (3). The Brothers also took a hostile position against the visit by Nixon, the vice president of the United States, in 1957, and the theory of the vacuum and the Eisenhower plan to link the countries of the region to America's axis. They also demanded specific economic measures which were new at the time: "Long-range policy must include the search for other crops which will be a source of foreign currency. It is not possible to rely on cotton. It is obvious that the textile industry, for example, will protect us to a large extent from fluctuations

(1) See a statement by the Muslim Brothers in Khartoum University, The Revolution of Iraq, the Collapse of Colonialism, Recognition of the Republic of Iraq Is a National Responsibility, AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMIN, 12 June 1958.

(2) A statement by the Muslim Brothers, AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, Monday 21 August 1958.

(3) AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, 12 June 1958.

in cotton [prices] and that the specter of unemployment which has started to loom up can be combatted only through the industrialization of the country. The American aid that has been offered to us is of little use and is incapable of solving any of our current economic problems. American aid in general has failed to solve the problems of countries which have accepted it, such as Greece and Pakistan. As for the Russian loan, whose details have not yet emerged, we welcome that in principle; if it takes in the form of industrial machinery and equipment, our acquisition of this will without a doubt save much foreign currency ["] (1).

The Brothers, the African League and Nkrumah

The Brothers welcomed Nkrumah's visit to the Sudan and responded to the appeal for the African League at that early time when it was just a common idea. The newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN of 5 June 1958 contained Nkrumah's statements, which took up three quarters of the first page, and the newspaper devoted its lead editorial to him, under the title Nkrumah and Israel: ["]We welcome Dr Nkrumah in his capacity as a visitor to our country and in his capacity as an African leader working to unite African efforts and cooperation among Africa's people. We hope that the head of our government will be open with him and will work to win Nkrumah over to the side of Arab policy.["]

Cultural and Economic Activities

The year 1957 witnessed the spread of the Brothers' appeal in an organized fashion beyond the limits of Khartoum. A number of houses were opened in the regional areas, including the Brothers' house in al-Duwaym, which was opened the evening of Thursday 14 March 1957, and the Madani house next to the al-Bushi mosque, which was opened on 12 May 1957. The presentation by Bulis Jalinus, a Christian, of a nationalist poem on this glorious Islamic occasion was perhaps of significance (2). In addition, the Bahri Islamic cultural club was opened north of the Khartoum Bahri market along the lines of the Omdurman club. Small economic activities on the Brothers' part also emerged, such as the establishment by Muhammad Khujali Salihin and Muhammad Ahmad al-Bashir of the Brothers' bakery in Khartoum Bahri, characterized by honesty, truth and quality in work, and the Brothers' night school also made its appearance.

For a long period, the Brothers' newspaper continued to embrace the cause of the Brothers in Egypt who were prisoners in the Turah penitentiary, a cause in which 25 Muslim Brothers were killed by police gunfire. Emphasis continued to be placed on them, and a statement was made by the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior stressing that (3).

(1) See the executive bureau of the Muslim Brothers, which shows the Brothers' view regarding economic aid, AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, 5 June 1958.

(2) See AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, 12 June 1958, AL-AHRAM, 2 June 1958.

(3) AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, 1 May 1958.

The Brothers' newspaper developed toward the end of 1957 and began to cover all vital activities. There was a regular sports page which presented sporting news in general and news of the Brothers' teams in particular, edited by 'Ali Shamu, and a section on arts, The World of Arts, edited by 'Umar 'Uthman, which reviewed various subjects, up to the revolution in singing (1). In addition, Miss 'A al-Shaykh edited the women's page, and there were also a page on labor and laborers, the students' page and articles concentrating on the issues of the south.

The Islamic Front

The focal, basic issue of the Brothers continued to be the issue of the Islamic constitution. This gave the Brothers a platform from which they presented themselves to the people and the platform of the Islamic Front which became the basic expression of the Brothers' movement.

The Brothers in the regions were introduced to the person who had recently assumed charge of them, al-Rashid al-Tahir, who explained his policies and his plans for the coming stage to them.

A Plan for Expansion

The period 1956-1958 witnessed attempts at mass expansion which were summarized by having all the three leading Brothers hasten on the Thursday of each week to a regional area at their own expense (2) to meet with citizens, give them sermons and mobilize the proselytizers in their midst.

The Origins of Organizational Units

The work of the organizational units was also strengthened and families, heads of families and a council of heads came into being. Each unit in the three cities also had a branch and a council of heads. Heading up the council of Khartoum Bahri was Muhammad Yusuf, the council of Omdurman, Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, and Khartoum 'Umar Bakhit al-'Awad (3). The formation of the branch council assumed a simple character:

1. The branch delegate, in effect the chairman.
2. The branch agent, in effect the secretary and person in charge of organization.
3. The cultural delegate for the cultural programs and their execution.
4. The educational delegate of nomads and battalions.
5. The secretary of finance, who would collect and keep the dues.

(1) See AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, 10 April 1958, Isma'il Khurshid, The Revolution in Singing Is in Being.

(2) Malik Badri and Sadiq 'Abdallah.

(3) 'Abbas Hasan al-Tum.

The Brothers and the 1958 Elections

The second parliamentary elections took place on 27 February 1958, at a time when the slogan of the Islamic constitution was being advanced. The Brothers, with support from people who favored an Islamic constitution, had decided not to enter into the elections, and the Brothers stated that they had agreed that Muslim Brothers in all districts should contact the candidates of parties in all areas of the Sudan and that Brothers would give their votes -- a trust for which they were beholden -- to the candidates who committed themselves, by a pact and charter declared by the masses' imam, not to betray the will of the Muslim Sudanese people regarding the approval of an Islamic constitution. This is the Brothers' position (1).

The Brothers and the Issues of the Day

In this period, on 6 August 1958, a letter was also issued titled "The Muslim Brothers and the Issues of the Day," spelling out the Brothers' views regarding the national government, the National Charter, the guarantee of general freedoms, the unity of the country, the economic situation, the various regions, the future constitution, the problem of the waters of the Nile, the external political borders and the situation in Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Algeria, Kashmir, Palestine, the protectorates and Yemen. These consisted of positions and broad outlines more than specific programs and plans (2).

The Islamic Front for the Constitution, 1955-58

The Formation of the Front

The Islamic Front for the Constitution consisted of a broad grouping through which the Brothers' movement expressed itself politically in the midst of the post-independence atmosphere: "Since God has bestowed freedom and independence on our country, the armies of servitude and colonialism have left and the usurped rights have been restored to its people, it has become obligatory for the people working on behalf of God's call to unify their ranks so that the constitution supported by God's book and the sayings and doings of God's prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, may come into being.["] In the face of these favorable circumstances, the Muslim Brothers and the Society of Islamic Proselytization sent an appeal to Islamic bodies to study the matter carefully and deal with the situation through a single agency. It was because of God's wish that this be a success that the first meeting took place in the Society of Islamic Proselytization in Omdurman on Saturday 10 [missing] 1955, followed by a second meeting on 11 December 1955. Attending the two meetings were delegates from the following bodies: the al-Khatmi federations, the bodies of the Partisans, the Muslim Brothers, the Partisans of the Sayings and Doings of the Prophet, the graduates of the Scientific Institute, the Voice of Islam, the Society of the Good Objective,

(1) The newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, 10 April 1958.

(2) See The Muslim Brothers and the Issues of the Day, Brochures of the Sudan, 139, the Library of the Sudan.

the Islamic Benevolent Society in Khartoum, the Society for the Preservation of the Koran in Omdurman, the Conference of Islamic Bodies, the Society of Islamic Proselytization and Reform, the Society for the Preservation of the Koran in Shambat, the Islamic Cultural Club in Khartoum al-Bahri, the Society of the White Brigade, the Cultural Club in Omdurman and the Society of the Life of Muhammad (1).

The Secretary, 'Umar Bakhit Al-'Awad

It is clear that most of these titles belonged to entities consisting of Brothers. 'Umar Bakhit al-'Awad (a Muslim Brother) was elected secretary general. 'Umar chose 'Abdallah al-Ghabshawī, Muhammad Hashim al-Hadiyāh, Sayyid Amin, Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, Muhammad Ahmad al-Hawari, al-Sa'im Muhammad Ibrahim and 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sa'im as assistant secretaries, with each assistant secretary supervising one of the seven committees which were formed -- the committee on communications, the committee on publicity, the committee on the press and broadcasting, the finance committee, the committee on sermons in mosques, the committee on the regions and the committee on objectives (that is, to set out and explain the general objectives of the Islamic constitution).

The strategy of the front could be summarized in two points:

A. The effort to mobilize Sudanese public opinion through various legitimate means to advocate the demand for a divine constitution (2).

B. Contact with all formations, bodies, leaders and individuals to support the front in demanding an Islamic constitution.

The National Character

There is no doubt that this national character deprived this front of the quality of party action, because this quality was contrary to its goal, which was aimed at winning all orientations and organizations over to itself, no matter what their nature was (3).

Among the Activities of the Islamic Front

The 50 Nights and the Women's Federation

The front held almost 50 Islamic nights and lectures in the three-city capital alone. The front did not neglect women's organizations, and contacted the women's federation for this purpose (4). The front also contacted their

(1) See the resolutions of the first conference of branch committees of the Islamic Front for the Constitution, May 1956, the Printing and Publishing Company, printers, pp 3-4.

(2) Op. cit., p 6.

(3) Op. cit., p 7.

(4) Op. cit., p 7.

excellencies the members of parliament, in both houses, in the course of two consecutive meetings. A contact committee was formed with senators and deputies of the two houses by Mirghani Husayn Zaki-al-Din, 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Umar, Muhammad Zaki-al-Din and Muhammad Bakhit Habbah (1). The front also made a tour of the northern regions of the al-Jazirah, 'Atbarah, Shindi, Port Sudan, al-Qadarif, Sannar, Sanjah, al-Duwaym and the western Sudan. Fifty branch committees from the various far reaches of the Sudan took part in the front's conference for the branch committees and the conference continued to be held for 2 days, first on Friday 11 May 1956 and then on Saturday 12 May 1956. The conference concluded with generous donations, most prominent of which were donations of:

Two hundred (200) pounds, Mr 'Ali al-Mirghani.

Two hundred (200) pounds, Mr 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Mahdi.

Three hundred (300) pounds, Mr al-Sa'im Muhammad Ibrahim.

The Islamic Constitution

The committee prepared a model Islamic constitution in cooperation with Mr Zafrallah al-Ansari (a Pakistani), who had been chosen to cooperate with the Pakistani founding committee in setting out an Islamic constitution, in addition to the committee of institute graduates.

The Chapters of the Constitution

The proposed constitution consisted of six chapters, Chapter One, goals of the Islamic republic, Chapter Two, general provisions, Chapter Three, Islamic rights, Chapter Four, consisting of four sections (Section One, the president of the Sudanese republic, Section Two, the legislative authority, Section Three, the executive authority, and Section Four, the judiciary authority), Chapter Five, economic affairs and Chapter Six, miscellaneous. The constitution comprised 132 articles.

Its Points of Difference and Similarity with the 1967 Constitution

The constitution adopted the presidential system, the presidential republic (2), as did the 1967 constitution, and the format of united states, while the 1967 constitution ultimately chose the formula of regional rule. It was distinguished from the 1967 constitution and the temporary constitution in devoting a chapter to economic affairs, since Article 116 stipulates that ownership is a social function and the government looks after and protects individual property.

(1) Op. cit., p 8.

(2) See preamble to the constitution of the Islamic Front for the Constitution, 9 October 1956 (draft of the constitution of the Sudanese Islamic republic). The parliament will choose three candidates, who will be offered in a general plebiscite of the people, with a president to be chosen from among them. (It is as if it was trying to combine the benefits of the parliamentary and presidential republics.)

["] Article 117. The government must establish a permanent economic council which will set out the necessary economic platforms and plans for:

["]A. Preventing wealth from being concentrated in a few hands.

["]B. Nationalizing the banks.

["]C. Eliminating usury.

["]D. Preventing monopoly.

["]E. Developing national production in order to raise the standard of living.

["]Article 118. The government is obligated to collect the tithe and spend it on its legitimate necessities as specified by legislation.

["]Article 119. The government may set out a ceiling on the ownership of land acquired after the issuance of this constitution, as interests require.

["]Article 123. Special expropriations may be made in accordance with legislation.

["]Article 125. Minerals and other materials extracted from the subsoil are the property of the state, and individuals or companies may own these only by permission of the state.["] The other articles will carry out the platform of traditional Islamic constitutions regarding education, the morality of Muslims and the rights and duties of non-Muslims.

The Struggle for the Islamic Constitution, 1956-58

The Establishment of the National Committee To Set out the Draft Constitution

At the session held on 28 February 1956, the Council of Ministers decided to form a ministerial committee to offer recommendations to the Council of Ministers concerning practical methods leading to "the setting out of a permanent constitution for the Sudanese republic" (1). The committee concluded by establishing a national committee consisting of 46 members under the chairmanship of Babakr 'Awadallah to set out the draft constitution. The National Front for the Islamic Constitution was represented by three members, al-Sa'im Muhammad Ibrahim, 'Umar Bakhit al-'Awad and Mirghani al-Nasri.

The struggle for the Islamic constitution which the Brothers launched through the podium of the Islamic Front began at that time. The arena of struggle was the pulpits, the mosques, the newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN and contacts with influential persons aimed at creating circumstances for exerting pressure. The arena of struggle also shifted to within the National Committee on the Constitution among adherents of Islam and the current of secularists of various persuasions.

(1) See the National Committee on the Constitution (summary of proceedings) No 1, from 23 September to 18 October 1956 (letter from Mr Ziyadah Arbab).

The Triumph of the Formula of the United State

The two [sic] focal issues in the proceedings were the form of the state -- whether it should be federal or federal Islamic, or have Islamic features. As regards the first question, the committee's decision was that "The chapters of the constitution presented to this committee should be distributed in the format of a united state, provided that a special committee study the condition of the southern provinces and the possibility of applying the federal system there, in order to present a detailed report to the founding assembly ["] (1).

The Failure of the Total Islamic Constitution

The basic recommendation which constituted the approach to the subject of the Islamic constitution was presented by Ahmad Khayr: "The chapters of the constitution should be distributed among formulating committees, with each chapter based on the premise that the type of government is a parliamentary republic.["] Mirghani al-Nasri presented an amendment and reiterated that the word Islamic should be added on at the end of the recommendation. Mirghani pointed out, "This amendment of mine is faithful to the obvious desire of the people, which has been ceaselessly calling for the Islamic constitution, to the point where it has become a demand of the people ["] (2).

'Abidin Isma'il's Opinion

'Abidin Isma'il came up with an intermediate solution: "I believe that we will have deeply harmed Islam if we state that it has not contributed to the democracy which prevails today and that it was not a basic element in developing human intelligence to the level it has reached today. Therefore it is not possible to do without the word 'Islamic,' since the official religion of the state is Islam ["].

'Umar Bakhit al-'Awad's View

"The addition of the word 'Islamic' is not just a suffix but indeed means tying this nation to its past history and its current era. Here is the genuine meaning which will cause the constitution to be respected and obeyed. Any constitution which does not arise from the nation's belief will fail to acquire respect and will be dead at birth. What the Communists want is close to an Islamic constitution. The person who set out the anti-colonial front's constitution testified, the gentleman setting out the front's constitution stated, in the podium of the university, after defining its objectives, 'Someone will come after me who will tell you that what I have talked about is an Islamic constitution,' and I ascended the podium after him and said, 'Yes, we do not want more than that, but we want "Islamic" to be mentioned, so that the constitution will go back to its roots. When we are asking for

(1) The National Committee on the Constitution (summary of proceedings), No 2, 18 January 1957 to 22 February 1957, session five, Saturday, January 1957, p 16.

(2) Op. cit.

the word Islamic to be added to the recommendation, we mean the application of the provisions of Islamic law, not just a symbol or token'["] (1).

Rejection of Mirghani's Amendment by a Majority of 21 to 8; Hasan Mahjub

Since this was a sensitive issue the clarification was not made in its regard until the eighth session, after the proceedings had gone on for three sessions, during which consensus was reached that Mirghani al-Nasri's amendment should be rejected, by a majority of 21 votes to eight. One of the strangest things that was said was the statement by Hasan Mahjub: "If we exclude the Muslim Brothers, of whom the appeal to Islam is a creation, if all the intellectuals in the capital, including the university people, are given a test on the principles of Islam and the obligations of ablution and prayer, they will fail. I believe that the people who insist on the designation 'Islamic republic' are suffering from a severe inferiority complex." Emil Qurunfuli rejected the amendments, stating, "Although I am a Christian, I love to hear the Koran and often listen to it over the radio. The reason for that is that I appreciate good things, wherever they are."

The Choice of the Formulation of Islamic Features

Emil Qurunfuli, a Christian

Although Mirghani al-Nasri's recommendations failed, the committee, Christians and southerners included, unanimously approved a resolution "that the chapters of the constitution should be distributed among formulation committees, chapter by chapter, on the premise that the type of government is a parliamentary republic, provided that it be mentioned in the constitution that Islam is the official religion of the state and that it be mentioned in the section on principles guiding the policy of the state that Islamic law is one of the basic foundations of legislation in the republic of the Sudan["] (2). Emil Qurunfuli endorsed the recommendation, saying "Now that I have understood the purpose of this recommendation, I am in agreement with it and see no fault or difficulty in having Islam the official religion of the state. I fully feel that the majority in the Sudan is Muslim and that proves that there is no attitude of fanaticism regarding a given religion, but rather respect for the situation that exists, in a manner which everyone's interests require. As regards the fourth amendment, who will deny that Islamic law is one of the basic foundations of legislation?["]

Reactions to the Choice of a Constitution with Islamic Features

The Islamic Front, in the wake of the defeat of Mirghani al-Nasri's formulation, made a tactical popular campaign which ended by making the people with influence in the country speak, on grounds that they were the keys and possessed social weight and influence among the people. This began with a statement by Shaykh Muhammad al-Fatih Qariballah "We will never accept a non-Islamic constitution or provisions. I hold out my hand to everyone who

(1) Op. cit., p 195.

(2) Op. cit., pp 206, 240.

works on behalf of God's book and the sayings and doings of his prophet [""] (1). The same was the case with the head of the al-Tijaniyah order, Majdhub Mudaththir: "I will work for the constitution, that is, the Islamic constitution, to the maximum of my ability ["]]. Shaykh Hasan al-Idrisi proceeded along the same lines.

'Abdallah Khalil Calls for an Islamic Republic

The reaction of 'Abdallah Khalil, secretary of the al-Ummah Party and prime minister, was "The Sudanese people are [acting] in accordance with their nature and the Islamic movement in the Sudan bodes well, especially since it has found its way into the midst of educated young people and university persons, and the intention in the Sudan is being oriented toward making Islam the basic source of the constitution, preparatory to the proclamation of an Islamic republic."

The Reactions of the Two Al-Sayyids

The two al-Sayyids, 'Ali al-Mirghani and 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Mahdi, issued a statement at 1000 hours in the morning of Wednesday 20 February 1952 saying "Since the country is venturing to set out its final constitution and implanting the bases of sound, proper government in the Sudan, we declare that our opinion is that the state which exists in the Sudan should be a parliamentary Islamic republic and that the divine law should be the source of legislation in the country's constitution."

The Muslim Brothers' Reaction

The most violent reactions were from the newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN; the paper devoted its pages to cables and opposition statements. Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid wrote inflammatory articles one whole page in extent, totalling nine articles altogether (2).

Al-Azhari

Al-Azhari's reaction was palliative -- "We will declare it as an Islamic republic from within the founding assembly" -- on grounds that the committee's resolutions were not final but that the decisive word lay with parliament (3).

Internal Disputes

While the campaign for the Islamic constitution escalated, the early signs of dispute started to spread among the leaders of the Islamic movement. These began with 'Umar Bakhit al-'Awad's refusal to accept 'Ali Taliballah's

(1) The newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, Monday, 25 February 1957, p 3.

(2) See AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, from No 105, 5 May 1958, to No 110, 26 May 1958.

(3) Ahmad Safi-al-Din.

application to be a working member of the Islamic Front, because that would provoke the Brothers' resentment, on grounds that 'Ali had lost his legitimacy among the Brothers. Another dispute also flared up between the two strong figures in Islamic activity, al-Rashid al-Tahir and 'Umar Bakhit al-'Awad, the gist of which was that the Islamic Front, in al-Rashid's view, had gone beyond its limits and come to predominate over the Muslim Brothers and that this threatened to eliminate the Brothers' organization (1). This prompted 'Umar Bakhit to leave the Brothers for once and for all and apply himself with all his strength to running the front.

'Abbud: Deliverance and Assumption

Meanwhile, the Islamic Front continued to mobilize the Sudanese people on behalf of the approval of a complete Islamic constitution (2). Another development in the form of a dialogue between the senior officers of the army and 'Abdallah Khalil began to advance rapidly; this dialogue ended when the officers of the army took over, on 17 November 1958, the day which had been set aside for the inauguration of parliament. Thus a leaf was turned and a new page in the history of the Sudan began (3).

(1) The troubles began. It was Mr 'Umar Bakhit's opinion that he should devote himself full time to Islamic action, provided that a specific group of Brothers pay his salary. He specified that he should have a monthly salary of 15 pounds, rather than join the lawyers' profession or the judiciary, and in fact accepted this, and the specific group committed itself to paying a salary every month. However, al-Rashid rejected that, on grounds that a wage was not to be paid for Islamic action but that able-bodied persons did it voluntarily. Therefore he refused to devote himself to it on a full-time basis.

(2) The most important effects of the Islamic Front for the Constitution were that it:

A. Gave concrete form to the notion of the Islamic constitution, [evolving it] from a slogan to an actual situation, and specified its frameworks.

B. Created an overwhelming public opinion among the people in support of the notion.

C. It drove the Muslim Brothers' organization to bear major responsibilities which at that time it was not equal to in terms of material and intellectual resources. However, the challenge cast upon them a responsibility which had to be proceeded to be borne. Likewise, the force of the appeal for an Islamic constitution indicated to the outer world, Britain, America and also the Egyptian regime, the serious nature of the Brothers' organization, which facilitated the process of the military coup.

(3) Bashir Muhammad Sa'id related that he went to hold a press interview with Brig Gen Ibrahim 'Abbud, the chairman of the Military Council, and asked him, "What can we call what has happened? A coup? A revolution?" 'Abbud rapidly answered him, "No, a deliverance and assumption." This was a reference to mutual consent over the monopolization by the army of the question of politics for a while and the granting of leave to politicians.

The Muslim Brothers among the Workers

The Brothers' movement began activity among the workers somewhat belatedly. In this regard it differed from the Brothers' movement in Egypt, since the first cell of Brothers there was represented by a grouping of workers: five workers in the Suez Canal Authority in al-Isma'iliyah rallied around Hasan al-Banna in 1928, chose him as their guide then soon adopted the name of the Muslim Brothers (1). Moreover, the Brothers' movement in Egypt was always open to the workers and inhabitants of rural areas, to the point where the day came when the village represented the movement's organizational unit, whereas for some time the school remained the most important organizational unit of the Sudanese movement. The Egyptian Brothers' movement had no tangible presence in the universities until the end of the thirties (1938), while the Sudanese movement essentially was active among students and relatively educated segments and took concrete form among the workers and other classes of the base only belatedly.

Yas 'Umar al-Imam and 'Abd-al-Shakkur 'Umar 'Atiyah may have been the first to start organized Brothers' activity among workers, when the former traveled to 'Atbarah in November 1952 and joined the accounts [office] in the workshops. There he proceeded to cooperate with the 'Atbarah branch and the group of Brothers who were students at the Faculty of Engineering at Khartoum University on a period of field training prior to graduation, including 'Abd-al-Shakkur 'Umar 'Atiyah, who, with Yas, proceeded to take energetic action to make contact with the workers, assisted by Muhammad Salih Karrar and Mahdi Ahmad Idris, workers in the 'Atbarah branch. However, the real germ of the activity went back to 1957, when the late Mu'awiyah 'Abd-al-'Aziz, an engineer in the Mechanical Transport [Department], formed a small office in 1957 which he called the "Workers' Section," consisting of representatives of the three branches of the capital. These were:

1. Abu al-Qasim 'Abd-al-Qadir (who at that time was a student at the Technical Institute), for the Omdurman branch.
2. Ahmad Sadiq Ahmad, an employee in the bank, for the Khartoum branch.
3. Muhammad al-Hasan Muhammad 'Ali, a worker in stores and accessories, for the Khartoum Bahri branch.

The Workers' Section started to hold organized meetings in the Muslim Brothers' general center in Omdurman. It also issued a bulletin introducing the Brothers, concerning branch formations, which contained some Islamic concepts related to work and workers. The office also proceeded to hold introductory lectures on Islam's view of labor and its respect for working people. The times demanded that this notion be clearly emphasized and highlighted, especially since the workers had organized themselves into the unions of the General Federation of Workers, whose leadership was controlled by the Communists, who had been exploiting it to disseminate Communist propaganda among the workers since some time before independence. The office's activity was suspended after a short period, continuing until 1958,

(1) See al-Imam Hasan al-Banna, *Memoirs of the Call and the Proselytizers*.

because the Brother in charge, Mu'awiyah 'Abd-al-'Aziz, traveled to America and Abu al-Qasim 'Abd-al-Qadir transferred to 'Atbarah. In the period from 1958 to 1961, which covered the time of the military coup and the monopolization by senior army officers of the right of political action, individual forms of activity and individual theorizing predominated among the Brothers, especially since the general observer of the Muslim Brothers was in prison at that time.

The Workers' Office resumed its activity once again in December 1961, when the nucleus of an office was formed consisting of:

1. 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Ahmad al-Bakhit.
2. 'Abdallah Ahmad Bilal.
3. 'Awad al-Karim Kabbush.

The good fortunes of this office bore fruit for the first time in the election of a Muslim Brother, 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Ahmad al-Bakhit, to membership in the executive committee of the Federation of Workers of the Sudan in August 1963. At that time he was chairman of the workers in the Cold Air Company. 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Ahmad Bakhit was also chosen representative of the workers of the Sudan to the meeting of the central council of the Federation of Arab Workers in Cairo in July 1964. There the recommendation he presented to the meeting, which demanded that the Federation of Arab Workers be independent of the zone of cold war, that is, not aligned with the "free world federation" concentrated in Brussels, carried the day.

This partial success drove the Brothers to devote more attention to workers and the labor movement. Therefore, in August 1964, an office was formed under the chairmanship of Yas 'Umar al-Imam with Ja'far Shaykh Idris, 'Abd-al-Rahim Hamdi, 'Abdallah Ahmad Bilal and 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Ahmad al-Bakhit as members, and thus competent Brothers' university personnel came in and started to help administer the activities of the office, which enhanced the performance in terms of quality and quantity.

On 28 August 1964, the workers' office issued a pamphlet in the name of the Islamic Movement because the Communist Party had at that time issued a publication in which it supported 'Abbud's government's dissolution of the Federation of Workers, on grounds that the federation was devoid of Communist Party personnel and because of the relative satisfaction the Communists felt toward the senior officers' rule after the latter had opened up toward the Eastern camp and relations with Russia had improved. The Brothers' publication contained the following:

1. Condemnation of the dissolution of the federation.
2. Condemnation of the statement and disapproval of the Communist Party's position on national issues and its failure to support the students of Khartoum University in their struggle against the government of Brig Gen 'Abbud.
3. The party's failure to attach itself to the issue of general freedoms and the freedom of trade union activity in particular.

A succession of directives and communiques to workers then proceeded to emerge in the Muslim Brothers' organization with the aim of escalating the situation among the workers in the months of September and October 1964, in execution of the movement's general policy of escalating opposition to Brig Gen Ibrahim 'Abbud's regime. These directives were passed down to the Brothers' leaders and also to the ordinary members. At that time the Brothers' most important activity was being carried out in the Mechanical Transport [Department], where the activity was managed by Sulayman Sa'id and 'Abd-al-Rahman Qasam al-Sayyid, in the Cold Air union, where 'Abd-al-Rahman Muhammad Ahmad al-Bakhit was prominent, among the university workers [where] the student Ahmad Mas'ud became secretary of the union, in the banks, where Yusuf Ahmad Mukhtar was present, and, in the airlines, [under] 'Abbas 'Abd-al-Majid. In addition, the workers' movement, along with the other segments of the movement, joined this struggle against 'Abbud's regime, which was keeping al-Rashid al-Tahir, the most recent general observer of the Muslim Brothers, in prison.

Chapter Two

The Development of the Muslim Brothers' Movement (1958-69)

Section One

Army Interference in Political Life

Independence Was Not an Extension of the al-Mahdi Revolution

With independence, the Sudanese will regained its dignity, which had been destroyed at Karari for a period of 60 years. However, it is not possible to consider independence a direct extension of the will which had unleashed the al-Mahdi revolution, since the al-Mahdi revolution was religious and sought to liquidate all social, political and economic institutions and re-establish them on pure religious foundations, while the leaders of the second stage, that is, the creators of independence, wanted it to be secular and liberationist (1). This meant preserving the continuity of the institutions which colonialism had erected, embodied in Western democracy, its liberal philosophy and its organic extensions in the form of political, educational and economic institutions. This may be one of the effects which steeped this generation in the Western view of life, eliminating the vitality of religious devotion in the generations which came after the al-Mahdists, although

(1) Ahmad Khayr, *The Struggle of a Generation*, p 138: "The generation of graduates who participated in the independence movement did not have a specific philosophy. Rather, they were content with the existing institutions colonialism had established and relied on during its rule -- the civil service, the military institution and the educational system. All these institutions were founded on the basis of the separation between religion and the state. Indeed, they sought to remove religion, separate it from life and politics and keep it confined to specific places -- personal status, inheritance, the Scientific and al-Khalawi [sic] Institutes and the Department of Religious Affairs which had been established after independence, in the days of 'Abbud, the first military regime."

they did not provide them with a proper philosophy of life in its place. This left them either:

1. Unable to devote attention to higher spiritual models.
2. Or led only toward their own personal ambitions.

Colonial Education as It Began in the Political Game

The effects of this education manifested themselves in political activity, which started with independence, when it became apparent that this activity, in reality, was founded on factions and personal struggles, not principles, models and the requirements of the country's interests. That was clear when independence collapsed 18 days after its flag was raised, when the government turned into one for which the preparations had been made at the meeting of the two al-Sayyids on 6 December 1955, a conciliation which Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub has described as the worst disaster the history of the modern Sudan has witnessed (1). That led to the birth of the al-Azhari national cabinet on 2 February 1956, a cabinet which contained all the contradictions to be found on the political stage, as it brought together Mirghani Hamzah, whom al-Azhari had dismissed from the National Federal [Party] in 1954, Muhammad Nur-al-Din, who had differences with Azhari, 'Abdallah Khalil, the Brethren's fierce competitor, and his colleague Ibrahim Ahmad. The disaster of Jawdah occurred on 18 February 1958 in the framework of this sort of cabinet. That was a difficult test for the tripartite coalition government (the National Federal, al-Ummah and Democratic People's [Parties] under the chairmanship of 'Abdallah Khalil). The situation worsened and became more confused when the al-Khatmiyah turned against Azhari in June 1956 within the People's Democratic Party.

It was not easy for al-Azhari to run a cabinet in this form, whose ministers' allegiance was not to him but to their own factions and persons. It was natural that al-Azhari's cabinet should leave and that of the parties of the two al-Sayyids (the al-Ummah Party and People's Democratic Party, under the chairmanship of 'Abdallah Khalil) should come in, so that the latter could cope with the economic crisis caused by the poor cotton output of 1957-58, and, in the wake of that, the Halayib crisis. It held the second elections, on which millions of pounds were spent, in the midst of these circumstances.

The Results Did Not Enable Any of the Parties To Form a Cabinet in Isolation

In spite of that, the results of the elections did not enable any of these parties to form a cabinet, since the districts were broken down as follows (2):

1. The al-Ummah Party, 62 seats.
2. The National Federal [Party], 45 seats.

(1) Mohd. Ahmed Mohgoub, Democracy on Trial, p 196.

(2) Holt, A Modern History, p 179.

3. The Democratic People's [Party], 22 seats.

4. The Southerners' Grouping, 40 seats.

This brought the country to a situation which required that a balance be created among the conflicting parties; otherwise, it would be difficult for any cabinet to survive and that would provoke 'Abd-al-Nasir into intervening and trying to bring al-Azhari and the People's Party together in the desire to throw 'Abdallah Khalil's cabinet out, therefore causing a reduction in the status of the al-Ummah Party, which had constantly pursued a policy independent of Egypt. At this point, 'Abdallah Khalil turned to the army, on the argument that a threat to the independence of the modern Sudan existed, and the chapter of army interference in politics, indeed the army's monopolization of the right of political action and issuance of political decisions, began (1).

The Brothers' Movement in the Context of the Army Government

Different Treatment for the Brothers

The army government authorities' first measure was to suspend the constitution, dissolve the parties and confiscate their property. However, it appears that the Muslim Brothers were treated not as a political party but as a religious society, since, in spite of the closing of the houses and confiscation of property, a single issue of the newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN was issued on 1 December 1958, that is, 2 weeks after the coup. The issue expressed various attitudes, telling the story of our lord Moses and his people, "My heart is burdened and my tongue cannot speak," then, while the lead editorial began "The start on which the government has ventured in correcting corrupt conditions calls for assurance," the newspaper concluded with advice which was not in keeping with the introduction of welcome to the government: ["]This newspaper will bear the banner of revolution against the conditions of everything that is corrupt, so that our affairs will be set right on proper, clean bases["] (2).

The newspaper also carried an item of news stating that starting the coming week the newspaper would appear under the name AL-BALAGH, since the Ministry of the Interior had given agreement to that. However, experience soon proved the impossibility of the Brothers' cooperating with the people who had carried out the coup. Successive warnings were made to AL-BALAGH, and the end came in June 1959, when the newspaper published an article titled "Where Are We Headed?" that contained a criticism of the authorities and its lack of direction or identity. As a result of that Muhammad Ahmad 'Urwah, minister of the interior at that time, summoned Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, the editor in chief, and warned him against repeating that. However, the latter

(1) Miles Copeland, in his book *The Game of Nations*, said that American intelligence played a part in the coup. Al-Rashid al-Tahir said that the coup was partly overt. Therefore, the Brothers' paper, on the same day, 17 November 1958, was issued under the title "On the Brink of the Abyss."

(2) The newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, 1 December 1958.

The Issuance and Suspension of AL-BALAGH

rejected the warning and conveyed the news of the warning and the meeting to 'Abd-al-Rahman Mukhtar, owner of AL-NASHRAH AL-IFRIQIYAH, who published the news the evening of the same day. That was in effect the newspaper's death sentence (1).

The Change in the Nature of the Brothers' Activity

Following the shutdown of the newspaper, the Brothers started operating through the al-Khayr 'Awad anti-illiteracy school in al-Musalimah (2); the movement began to be run from there and the nature of the Brothers' activity evolved from being political in nature to become domestically educational, mostly devoted to providing ties among the regions (3). The number of Brothers started to decline, but the rest carried on the course and mosques were used as podiums of activity.

Al-Rashid Al-Tahir's Coup of 7 November 1959

In this period, al-Rashid al-Tahir Bakr, the Muslim Brothers' general observer, went to the army to do away with the regime. Al-Rashid intended to use the Brothers' popularity to contribute to a popular military action. Al-Rashid had proposed to the Brothers' office, at a meeting in the home of Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf, that a militia (national army) be established under the guise of supporting 'Abbud's regime. However, this decision was rejected by the office, and at this point al-Rashid proceeded to embark on independent military action in the form of a coup through his personal contacts with certain army officers and the narrow presence of the Brothers, which Bashir Muhammad 'Ali, who established the first family of Brothers within the army in the early fifties, had established.

It appears that when he came to the Sudan in 1955, Abu al-Makarim 'Abd-al-Hayy was disturbed about the Egyptian Brothers' experience with the army, and recommended that emphasis be placed on that and that the experience of the special agency in Egypt be transmitted. As a result of that, some young Brothers went to the War Faculty (Mahmud 'Abdallah Barrat and Husayn Khar-toum Darfur) (4).

(1) Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid.

(2) Hamid 'Umar al-Imam.

(3) Ibrahim al-Sanusi.

(4) The notion of military action originated before that, but the generation of Brothers' military vanguards which Bashir Muhammad 'Ali, 'Abdallah al-Tahir, 'Abd-al-Rahman Farah and 'Abd-al-Rahman Sawar al-Dahab represented collapsed.

evening AKHIR LAHZAH launched a violent attack on the military figures, as a result of which its editor, 'Abdallah Hasan Ahmad, was dismissed from the university for good. The Brothers turned the burial ceremonies into a popular demonstration, in the wake of which 'Abdallah Hasan Ahmad, 'Abdallah Sulayman and Ja'far Shaykh Idris were arrested and released under the guarantee of 'Uthman Khalid, a judge in Omdurman at that time (1).

After the coup the leadership of the movement shifted to Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, as he was al-Rashid al-Tahir's deputy. Al-Rashid started corresponding with the Brothers from prison, urging them to be patient and reminding them of the holy struggles when Islam first burst forth. At this point, the political opposition started to organize itself in what was known as the National Front. This brought together the National Federalists, Azhari, the al-Ummah, al-Sayyid al-Sadiq, 'Abdallah Khalil, the Communists, 'Abd-al-Khaliq Mahjub, Ahmad Sulayman and the Brothers (Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, 'Uthman Khalid and Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf). However, in general, as far as the Brothers' organization went, the political initiative had gone out of their hands and shifted to the Islamic Tendency within Khartoum University.

The First Political Memorandum Requesting the Army To Return to Its Barracks

The efforts of the Islamic Tendency, on 10 December 1959, during the term of Ja'far Shaykh Idris, led to the presentation by the University Federation of a memorandum to the higher council of the armed forces, requesting that the army go back and democratic life resume. That created a climate of opposition to the military regime in the university which ultimately led the authorities to issue Law Nine, describing the federation as an apolitical, non-party agency, which led to a struggle between the federation and the administration that ended with the dissolution of the federation on 25 October 1961. As a result, starting at that time, the federation became secret (2). The federation remained under the command of the Muslim Brothers throughout the 'Abbud era.

The University Federation memorandum paved the way for another one that was submitted by the leading figures of the opposition, with the support of al-Sayyid Sadiq. Twenty politicians signed the memorandum, headed by Isma'il al-Azhari and 'Abdallah Khalil, on 19 November 1960. This once again requested that the army return to its barracks and that general freedoms be restored.

Starting in 1960, the resistance to the military regime by the adherents of Islam began to be predominately individual in nature in the movement, outside the organization of the university. Yas 'Umar al-Imam presented a memorandum requesting freedoms on 23 October 1960 and it was delivered to

(1) Al-Rashid al-Tahir attributes the origins of his resignation to the atmosphere which grew within the organization after the failure of the military coup; he does not know what the consequences would have been if the coup had succeeded.

(2) Salah eldin Elzein Elteyeb, KUSU, KU Press, 1971, p 13.

Al-Rashid al-Tahir pressed the plan for the coup forward (1) and contacted Muhammad Yusuf in al-Abyad via Yusuf Tariza to guarantee it support from the middle ranks of the command. Meetings were held with officers in the office of Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub, and the coup [attempt] was overt (2). Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub, 'Ali Taliballah and others warned al-Rashid al-Tahir, but the operation was widely discussed (3) and everyone was arrested the morning of the day it was to be carried out. The people involved in the coup were tried quickly, Maj 'Ali Hamid, Ya'qub Kabidah, Capt 'Abd-al-Hamid 'Abd-al-Majid, the aviator al-Sadiq Muhammad Hasan, and Capt 'Abd-al-Badi' Karrar were executed, and al-Rashid was given 5 years.

Manifestations of grief over the execution of the officers were generally widespread among the Sudanese people, since that was the first time, since al-Mahdi's era, in which a national regime resorted to death penalties against Sudanese for political reasons. The incident had a farther-ranging, deeper repercussion in the spirits of the Brothers, since:

1. They had been struck a blow with respect to their senior official, just as they had been struck a blow by him, since he had overridden them on the subject of the coup, without considering their views while using Brothers' personnel (4).

2. They lost their organization's entire nucleus in the army.

The Reaction of the Brothers in the University

The first reaction on the Brothers' part was from inside the university, since the Islamic tendency organized a prayer for the departed over the spirits of the "martyrs." Mahjub 'Ubayd led the people in prayer and the same

(1) Al-Rashid al-Tahir's account states that the coup attempt was not the organization's and that the Communists knew about the attempt through the officer Muhammad Mahjub, 'Abd-al-Khaliq Mahjub's brother. However, the assumption was that all the commanders of the operation were civilians and Islamic or nationalist military personnel. Therefore there was nothing to fear from the Communist presence.

(2) Mohd. Ahmed Mohgoub, Democracy on Trial, p 185.

(3) Al-Rashid al-Tahir had made efforts, with the officers Muhammad Khayr Shinan and Muhyi-al-Din 'Abdallah, then with the Eastern Division and finally with 'Ali Hamid, apart from the Brothers' command; the last one was a plan for cooperation among the Communists, the al-Khatmiyah and the Partisans! Two days before the coup the officer Bashir Muhammad 'Ali, who at that time was a Brother, summoned the Brother Ahmad 'Awad al-Karim and informed him that Hasan Bashir Nasr, the minister of defense, was fully aware of the plan for the coup al-Rashid was participating in. Ahmad went and informed al-Rashid, but 2 days later Ahmad heard the news of the unsuccessful coup.

(4) Al-Rashid al-Tahir's account stipulates that the nature, seriousness and secrecy of the matter did not allow the Brothers to be addressed in any way in regard to it.

'Abbud, Hasan Bashir, Tal'at Farid and Ahmad Rida. Yass also delivered another memorandum to the same effect on 4 April 1961.

'Uthman Khalid's Dismissal from the Judiciary

'Uthman Khalid Mudwi and 'Ali Mahmud Hasanayn, who were judges at that time, carried out rapid measures by prior agreement with a police officer (also a Brother), which concluded with the house search and arrest of a number of prominent people in power in what was known as the Omdurman morals case. This resulted in the dismissal of the two judges and the arrest of 'Ali 'Abdallah Ya'qub, who discussed the case in the company of a number of Brothers in Omdurman mosques. 'Uthman Khalid then went to Geneva, where he worked in the Islamic center and helped put out the magazine AL-MUSLIMUN.

In 1962, Islamic activity started to gather strength following the amendments which the fifth conference of the Consultative Council approved in May, 1962, as the discussion concentrated on the Brothers' constitution and promotion of the Brothers' movement. An objective evaluation was also made of al-Rashid's coup movement and the questions it had raised on whether the Brothers were a movement which used force or an appeal advocating virtue, and whether the command was individual or collective. The chairman of the conference was Yusuf al-Khalifah Abu Bakr, the conference was held in al-'Aylafun, and the conference concluded with the following:

1. Condemnation of al-Rashid al-Tahir for his isolated action in carrying out a coup (1).
2. The choice of the formula of collective leadership. That of course meant the dismissal of al-Rashid al-Tahir, who was in jail.
3. The people at the conference concluded by advancing the Brothers' movement as one "calling on people to establish an Islamic society, and its means included the use of force ["] (2).
4. The continued opposition to the military regime, because its goals were not Islamic in any respect (3).

(1) As regards al-Rashid al-Tahir, the whole subject was painful since, according to his account, while some people offered their necks, others had presented their tongues.

(2) Ibrahim al-Sanusi's account. Hasan al-Turabi, however, did not recall this.

(3) Recommendations were issued to escalate the opposition to the regime because of the anticipated undeclared alliance between the military regime and the Communists and the People's Party under the chairmanship of 'Ali 'Abd-al-Rahman, to which the Soviets gave their blessings. The Brothers estimated that they would perhaps be dealt a blow by the regime with the help of its aides or new allies the Communists and the People's Party, especially since the Brothers constituted the only opposition to the regime within Khartoum University, dominating the federation, the most important political

5. The effort to establish national unity within the opposition.
6. Refusal to depend on the army to create a coup, because the consequences of that were not guaranteed.
7. The rejection of armed people's revolution because that would lead to excessive bloodshed.
8. The appeal to the people of the South to join in the opposition entity (1).

Most of these resolutions originally took form as recommendations of the executive committee (Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, Hasan al-Turabi, Ja'far Shaykh Idris, Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf, 'Uthman Khalid and Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman). One of the most prominent characteristics of this period was that the leadership had come to have a specific term and shifted back and forth among Sadiq 'Abdallah, Malik Badri, Muhammad Yusuf and Mubarak Qasamallah and the executive committee came to have an internal secretariat in which Ahmad 'Awad 'Abd-al-Karim made regional contacts. However, performance nonetheless continued to be mediocre, which created atrophy within the organization, except in the university, in which the Islamic tendency prevailed. The most prominent event of 1963 was the dismissal of the committee of Majdhub Salim al-Barr, of the Islamic tendency, on 11 September 1963, for a period of a year, because of the federation's position on the celebration of the directors of the universities of Africa; they had withdrawn, indicating that the university was no longer independent.

Hasan Al-Turabi's Return

The spirit of Islamic action revived with the return of some people who had been abroad -- Hasan al-Turabi, Muhammad Salih 'Umar and 'Uthman Khalid. In the same year, the sixth conference of the Consultative Council was held, and this embraced the resolutions of the 1962 conference. The office was

[(3) continued] platform anywhere in the country at that time. The following measures were taken before the scheme was carried out: One, contact with the Brothers' base by means of the people and the families in the capital and the regions, and the explanation of the movement's new policy, Two, the tabulation of all the Brothers and their likes, Three, contact with Brothers who were not organized or were inactive and their return to the sphere of the organization, Four, contact with the Brothers' friends and distribution of the publications to them, and Five, concentration and intensification of work within the organization and orientation of the internal educational and cultural curricula toward the objective of mobilizing and preparing the Brothers for the struggle.

- (1) See the newspaper AL-MITHAQ AL-ISLAMI, Wednesday 1 May 1965.

strengthened with the appearance of the new personnel (1). Confidence also was restored to the arenas of Islamic action in the universities and higher institutes, with the rise to prominence of Brothers at the lecterns of courses; they reinforced the tendencies of the opposition activity which was dominant among the adherents of Islam in the universities. The railway conference was held in August 1964. This was dominated by the tendencies in opposition to the military figures. At that time, the Communists made a truce with the military figures, following Brezhnev's visit, and tried to obstruct the holding of the conference. For that reason, the government managed to sway the conference; however, in spite of that, the conference issued a publication in which it attacked the military regime on 15 August 1964 (2), which meant a victory for the policy of the new Brothers' office, which called for an escalation (3).

Section Two

The Islamic Movement Embraces the Issue of the South

The Issue of the South Becomes Complex in the Sixties

In 1960, something resembling a general emigration of southerners from Equatoria to Uganda and the Congo began, as a result of the policy of military solution. This wave of emigration included educated leaders and former deputies. The people who had escaped, with the support and protection of the World Churches, formed the League of Christians of the Sudan and the

(1) The office adopted a strategy for Islamic action in opposition to the existing regime, and 'Abd-al-Rahman Hamdi helped set out the strategy. One element in this was the establishment of an opposition Islamic grouping. This notion, after the elimination of the military regime, evolved into the Islamic Charter Front. The Islamic movement's labor and political publications started to appear in the context of this opposition movement. A list was also made of Communists and their positions became known. A discussion also took place concerning the feasibility of standing up to the regime with the sketchy resources available, and, better yet, making a confrontation with the organization's available forces or anticipating the conclusion of the organizational measures, strengthening Muslim ranks, indoctrinating the individuals in it with respect to organizational policy and explaining its goals and aims in order to create better circumstances for confrontation.

(2) Yas 'Umar al-Imam's account.

(3) This followed a memorandum which one of the leading Brothers had presented on the dominant curricula in the organization and its failure to stay abreast of transformations in the society, the events taking place in the society and the Brothers' intellectual position, since the Brothers' leadership had decided to pursue a new political policy based on exposing the alliance of the Communists and the People's Party with the military government by issuing student and labor publications, intensifying activity among the workers, stimulating the leadership personnel among the workers and using them as a force for exerting pressure which would be added to the opposition student effort.

Sudanese African Closed Areas Union SACDNU (1), under the protection and support of the World Churches, which led the government on 27 February 1962 to expel all the foreign missions and ministers in the southern region. In the wake of that, William Deng escaped, went to the Vatican, Britain and New York (the United Nations) and presented a book, in collaboration with Joseph Oduhu, *The Problem of the Southern Sudan*. The SANU party was also established, with Joseph Oduhu as chairman and secretary. In 1963 the Anya Nya was formed under the slogan "decisions are made only through the use of force." At that time, the heat of war intensified, with terrific coverage from the church media, which led to the formation of the national Committee for the Affairs of the South under the chairmanship of Muhammad Muhammad Yas. This was given permission to hold scholarly symposia and lectures which discussed the issue after being given legal protection (2).

The Brothers seized the opportunity to begin to hold a series of symposia on the issue of the south. The objective was to publicize the situation and mobilize public opinion against it. The most powerful of these symposia was the one on 9 September which the Society of Social Studies at Khartoum University held the evening of 9 September 1964 and in which Hasan al-Turabi, 'Uthman Khalid, Ambrose Zayn, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Halim and Khujali 'Abd-al-Halim took part. Hasan al-Turabi became the most prominent of the speakers when he said "The issue of the south is a constitutional one in the first place and aggression exists against the freedom of other people in the north and in the south alike. However, specific circumstances have caused the situation in the south to escalate to a military rebellion." That was then followed by the symposium of the University of Cairo branch, in which Muhammad Salih 'Umar, 'Ali 'Abdallah Ya'qub, al-Samani 'Abdallah Ya'qub, al-Rashid Nayil and Babakr al-Hajj took part. The Brothers who spoke advocated the same policy of escalation, and that was followed by a contest on the pages of AL-RA'Y AL-'AMM in 1964 between the late Muhammad Salih 'Umar and Ahmad 'Ali Baqadi, the latter supporting the government's policy. The Brothers also rapidly brought out the women's magazine AL-MANAR AL-ISLAMI starting 1 October 1964 to help expand the Brothers' opposition tribunals. The issue which appeared on 1 October was not just a woman's magazine but consisted of a file on the issue of the south including a symposium on women's role in resolving the problem in the south in which Ambrose Wol, 'Uthman Khalid and Mrs Wisal al-Mahdi took part. The view of the speakers regarding the solution to the problem concluded, in summary, that "It is possible to give them some broad freedom in administering their regions in the context of a united centralized government." The lead editorial also concerned the problem of the south. It called for understanding the views of the revolutionaries, ["since we have noticed that all the leaders of the secessionist movement were of this class, the class of educated people or the intelligentsia ["](3). That was followed by the 10 October 1964 symposium on the scientific

(1) Mohamed Omer Bashir, *The Southern Sudan Background Conflict*, KUP, pp 83-84.

(2) Ahmad Muhammad Shamuq, *The Triumphant Revolution*, first printing, al-Irshad House, pp 54-59.

(3) See AL-MANAR, 1 October 1964, No 1, Library of the Sudan.

evaluation of the problem of the south. Muhammad Salih 'Umar, Ahmad 'Ali Baqadi, Muhammad Mukhtar al-Asamm and Hasan al-Tahir Razzuq were to speak at the symposium. Everyone attended except for Hasan al-Tahir Razzuq, who had to excuse himself because of an emergency, and at this point the police raided the symposium and the students dispersed, because they had not been prepared for a clash.

The Memorandum of the Hafiz al-Shaykh Committee

At this point the federation, under the chairmanship of Hafiz al-Shaykh, a Muslim Brother, presented a harshly-worded memorandum to the minister of the interior on Wednesday 14 October 1964 which resulted in the arrest of the committee on 15 October 1965. That was followed by a new committee under the chairmanship of Rabi' Hasan Ahmad, a Muslim Brother, who continued the holding of the symposia. The Islamic tendency managed to sustain the symposia by means of the History Society, after the Communists had undermined that when it was under the name of the Cultural Bureau, on grounds that that would constitute provocation of the police. The first rays of the October revolution emanated from the symposia.

The events of October elevated the status of the adherents of Islam, because the main roles devolved upon them. Al-Turabi's stock also rose and his name became brilliant, starting with the symposia, his support for the students under the circumstances of the first revolution and his supervision of the transport of the wounded, proceeding through his leadership of the Professors' Council in the parade of mourning, the collective resignation, his contacts with the politicians and his maneuvers, and up to the military figures' fall from power, which resulted in the expansion of political opportunity on his behalf. Therefore the Brothers put him to work full time and the founding office of the Charter Front elected him secretary general.

Section Three

Development of the Islamic Movement, 1964-69

The forces of revolution rose up. With the advent of the morning of Saturday 24 October, judges, lawyers, university professors, doctors, engineers and educated persons gathered together along with large masses of people and that was followed by a general political strike (1), ending with the dissolution of the higher military council. In the course of the struggles, the United National Front was formed, out of the parties and bodies, and held negotiations with the representatives of the armed forces until the October Charter made its appearance on 30 October and the cabinet of Sirr-al-Khatim al-Khalifah, which combined the legislative and executive authorities, was formed. Meanwhile 'Abbud remained as the chief of state.

(1) The Brothers, at the time of the police sweep of the university, issued a publication calling for political strike and civil disobedience. The burden of the demonstrations of the first 3 days of the revolution essentially was borne by the students and the Brothers (cf Ahmad Muhammad Shamuq, The Triumphant Revolution).

The Brothers' Performance at the Time of the Revolution

With the first signs of success of the revolution, the left's activity increased and tactical superiority on its part was apparent, manifesting itself in its ability to take precautions and take note of surprise actions while the adherents of Islam had been dealing with the wounds of previous years in terms of a lack of leadership and apprehensiveness with respect to individual leaders. Also, the opportunities available for the development and growth of the movement were much greater than the Brothers' fitness for extending and filling the vacuum at the time. The October experience also opened up broad new horizons for political action for which the Brothers' organization was not prepared. Therefore the Brothers' performance in the days after the revolution constituted an attempt to catch up to the event.

The Front of Councils

The Communists co-opted the revolution and filled the political vacuum by the shrewd formation of federations of unions. Here and there, by means of those, they dominated the front of councils (which was viewed as a representative of the mass movement and a legitimate alternative to party and factional institutions). The Communists had 11 of the 15 members on its executive committee, and the left in general came to have eight ministers in Sirr-al-Khatim al-Khalifah's cabinet (1), while the share of the adherents to Islam was a single minister, Muhammad Salih 'Umar. He was put in charge of Animal Resources, the least important of the ministries in the circumstances of the revolution. The reason for that may be that the most important part of the movement in the period after the revolution was devoted toward remedying the movement's wounds of the past 6 years, which required a period of introversion (2).

Expressions of Constitutionality and Leadership

The first concern of the Brothers' collective leadership following the success of the people's revolution and the re-emergence of the organization was to address the Brothers in particular and the people in general. At this point, the office decided to issue a statement in the name of Hasan al-Turabi in his capacity as secretary general of the society. The statement was issued in November 1964, just 2 days after the formation of the new cabinet (3). The issuance of this statement meant a constitutional change which was not a right of the office (in the sense that it entailed an infringement on the resolutions of the fifth conference bearing on

(1) Peter K. Bechtold, *Politics in Sudan*, pp 216-7.

(2) The Brothers had a prominent role in liquidating the front of councils in the same shrewd way in which the Communists had formed a number of councils by which they dominated the front of councils. The Brothers, in cooperation with the adherents of Islam Babakr Karrar and Mirghani al-Nasri, managed to form a number of councils and organizations by which they ruined the front from within after it had gotten out of their hands.

(3) See the Islamic Charter, Wednesday 28 April 1965, p 4.

collective leadership) but was, rather, a right of the founding board. Therefore, the office considered it appropriate that this resolution should remain in the form of a recommendation presented to the consultative assembly meeting. A general meeting of the assembly was held. Most of the Brothers present outside the capital did not attend, and therefore the majority needed for approval of the constitutional amendment was not provided; however, the meeting did give its agreement to the statement issued, and, on Thursday 25 November 1964, at a concluding assembly meeting, the constitutional amendment bearing on the expansion of the functions of the executive board, which determined its areas of competence, was discussed along with the secretary general's functions. After that, the nominations that had been submitted were discussed and Hasan al-Turabi was elected by near-unanimity. The assembly also approved the creation of a mass body and the business at hand eventually was concentrated on choosing the format for the Islamic Charter Front. The magazine AL-'AHD, a mimeographed organizational magazine, began to appear, with the goal of enlightening the Brothers about what was happening, as a means of communication.

The Formation of the Charter Front

The choice of the Charter Front's format meant first of all an emphasis on the entities the Islamic Front had formed. However, some leaders of the Liberation Movement (Babakr Karrar and Mirghani al-Nasri) had been investing their efforts on the same overall medium with the same name and made efforts with 'Ali Taliballah, Sulayman 'Abdallah Sulayman, the council of scholars and other religious organizations. However, the weight of these societies shifted to support for the Brothers after a meeting of reconciliation which was held in Taha al-Kurdi's home (1) to unite the two fronts aside from the leaders of the Liberation Movement and others. Therefore, on 6 December 1964, Hasan al-Turabi was chosen at the founding meeting of the front as secretary general of the Islamic Charter Front and the general council of the front was elected.

In February 1965 Dr Hasan al-Turabi issued his first statement in his capacity as secretary of the Islamic Charter Front and secretary of the Muslim Brothers: "Since the Muslim Brothers have merged their political activity into the Islamic Charter Front, statements and political positions, as of today, will be issued by the front."

The nature of action in the stage directly following the revolution was more a reaction than a conscious response. The Brothers enrolled in the demonstrations of 9 November, which, in Bashir Muhammad Sa'id's view, were a trap the Communists had set to eliminate the parties in order to give power to the first October cabinet. However, the Brothers, in cooperation with the al-Ummah and Federal National Parties, managed to circumscribe the mass tide the left had put in movement, absorb it in the devotion of allegiance to 'Abbud and therefore strip the army of the appearance of political dominance on 15 November 1964 and form a council of sovereignty to bear the powers of the head of the state.

(1) Interview with 'Ali Taliballah.

Bringing down the Leftwing Cabinet

The events of 9 November 1964 raised a future question on the cabinet, whose basic mission was to hold elections in a period of no more than 6 months. Since the cabinet was leftist in makeup, it procrastinated in holding the elections on the argument that security had not become firmly established in the south. At this point, the Brothers cooperated once again with the parties in a dominant front which compelled Sirr-al-Khatim al-Khalifah to resign. Therefore his cabinet automatically fell, paving the way for the advent of a cabinet in which the traditional parties would predominate and the Communists would be represented by a single minister, same as the Brothers. Al-Rashid al-Tahir (1), who had become a second man in the Brothers' organization, after having been the first one, represented the Muslim Brothers in the second cabinet. Perhaps the elimination of Muhammad Salih 'Umar's name from the cabinet resulted from the problems he had caused and which had been caused for him, his movement and the government of the people who had removed him regarding the subject of the purge, which the Brothers had raised as a slogan and applied in the field. Sirr-al-Khatim al-Khalifah, the prime minister, also proceeded to ignore him because of the rigidity of his positions and his disinclination to maneuver and reach compromise solutions.

The Strategy and Birth of the Newspaper AL-MITHAQ

The newspaper AL-MITHAQ AL-ISLAMI was born on 31 December 1964 under the chairmanship of Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, with Yas 'Umar al-Imam as secretary. The strategy of Islamic action also started to assume concrete form and become apparent, taking the final form of:

1. Securing the domestic front by fighting the Communist Party and the conspiracies of Western colonialism.
2. Embracing the subjects of just demands, creating loyal currents in pressure groups (the unions and federations) and orienting the movement toward the masses in general.
3. Further explaining what might be gained by establishing an Islamic society and Islamic government.
4. Opposing the Nasirist regime, exposing it in the media and sympathizing with the Brothers of Egypt (2).

(1) Al-Rashid al-Tahir at that point had just come out of prison and gone to al-Qadarif. He gave as reason for that that he had found that he was not in harmony with the circumstances of the new period and the change that had occurred in the Brothers and their movement.

(2) This occurred later. From the beginning, one of the reasons for the partial disappearance of the Brothers' name can be attributed to the lack of desire to become immediately implicated in foreign conflicts, which would sap the movement's efforts and divert it from responding to the requirements of the domestic situation.

5. Siding with liberation movements, especially [those of] Palestine, Eritrea and Chad.

The Islamic Charter Front's program made its appearance as an expression of the circumstances of the period. It benefitted in part from the constitution of the Islamic Front, but it was an extension which absorbed numerous new vital orientations.

The Islamic Charter

This consisted of a brochure, printed by the Omdurman press and bearing no date of issuance or publication. Two printings of the charter appeared, one at the beginning of 1965, the other at the end of 1965. The charter consisted of four chapters.

It began with a question, Why are we calling for Islam as a system of life? [and answered] because that:

Chapter One

1. Is a requirement of devout faith.
2. Is a result of a proper, intelligent view.
3. Is demanded by the greater national interest.

Chapter Two: The Constitutional System

This pointed out that the nature of the government would be Koranic and based on the sayings and doings of the prophet, as basic sources, and the will of the nation as reflected in consultation, as a secondary source. The charter endorsed the principle of the unity of the nation and guaranteed the freedom to form blocs and parties in accordance with the normal political rules of Islamic society.

With regard to nationality:

1. The objective was that Muslims should constitute a single nation with a single political authority and a single nationality. However, actual conditions and necessity made it inevitable that we establish an Islamic state whose allegiance is restricted to the Sudan, within its geographic boundaries, and that Muslims belonging to countries outside the Sudan not come to form allegiance to it.

The charter addressed itself to the political status of individuals with attention to equality, freedom of belief, freedom of expression and publication, freedom of the individual, modesty and honor and financial freedom. On the subject of the legislative power, authority lay with the stipulations of Islamic law, then the provisions of the constitution and the opinion of the nation, then the legislative body. With respect to the executive power, the experiences and needs of the Sudan suggested the presidential system with independence for the judiciary. With respect to the army, "[There would be]

recruitment on a broad scale to establish a reserve, with the introduction of religious and national education into the curricula of the armed forces and attention to the identity and dignity of man in its organizations["].

Political Relations among Different Parts of the Country

1. The system of decentralization would be applied.
2. Equality of political and civil rights and independence for personal status laws and religious education would be guaranteed to minorities.
3. The issue of the south would be settled through negotiations and mutual agreement and the principle of decentralization would be applied.

Chapter Three

The charter pointed out that the economic problem revolved about development, distribution and the economy's relationship to morality. With respect to distribution, among its conditions were:

1. That it not obstruct the expansion of production.
2. That it make allotments to individuals more equal.
3. That it not require political coercion.

In addition, there were conditions and restrictions regarding ownership:

One, the tithe, two, inheritance, three, the failure to extort usury, four, the failure to hoard, five, the failure to deal in goods (and services) which harm society, such as liquor, gambling and prostitution, six, the failure to establish monopoly, seven, spending for the sake of God, eight, government intervention to ascertain that neither an individual nor a group of individuals possessed significant resources of wealth which the nation as a whole required and that the ownership of such facilities be shifted to ownership of the group (the people are partners in the three areas of pasturing, water and fire).

The charter stipulated that ownership was to be organized within three sectors, a public sector which would lie directly under the general economic trusteeship of the state, a sector which cooperative installations would manage and whose financing and administration would be characterized by equity, and a private sector which would be left to individuals within the limits of the laws. The charter appealed for the establishment of a higher planning council and emphasis on agriculture, industry and the rural economy.

Chapter Four

This spoke about the social system as characterized by care for the individual, the family, science, education and social and cultural activity in accordance with social statutes (housing, migration, tribal activity, social and philanthropic organizations and professional and union bodies).

There were four spheres to foreign policy, the Arab, Islamic, African and international; making use of these relations to spread Islam would tie them to one another.

The Revised Islamic Charter

Since the Islamic Charter had come into being hastily, it was subjected to editing and amendment, and preparation was made for a second printing of the charter. The most important amendments were two:

The introduction of Article Three:

"The Islamic Charter Front is a comprehensive Islamic organization which has the goal of creating a Muslim society on which a Muslim government is founded. The intellectual constitution of the front is the Islamic Charter."

Article 12:

"It is necessary that the policy in selecting the bodies of the organization consist of nominations and elections by members and that consultation be extensive before decisions are made["] (1).

The Charter Front in the Arena of Political Struggle

The Islamic movement, for the first time in its history, which dated from 1947, decided to enter these elections, which took place on 21 April 1965, as an independent force in the regional districts, the graduates' districts and the 15th district. The front ran candidates in 85 regional districts in addition to the list of graduates -- 100 in all. This broad coverage was part of a strategy which called for the establishment of the fledgling front and the creation of bases among the people and loyal currents throughout the country. A woman also ran as a candidate, as a symbol of Muslim women and in assertion of women's status in the movement and their political role (Thurayya Imbabi, the graduates' districts).

The plan for broad coverage achieved its goals, and the Islamic Charter Front won in five regional districts:

1. The southern rural areas of Khartoum, al-Tahir al-Tayyib Badr.
2. Central al-Qadarif, al-Rashid al-Tahir Bakr.
3. Southern Marwa, Muhammad Muhammad Sadiq al-Karuri.
4. West Katm, Sulayman Mustafa Abkar.
5. South Tukar, Musa Husayn Darar.

The front won in two of the graduates' districts. Hasan al-Turabi's standing ranked at the head of the list. He received more than 7,000 votes. Muhammad Yusuf was at the bottom of the list, receiving more than 2,000.

(1) See the newspaper AL-MITHAQ AL-ISLAMI, Wednesday, 11 August 1965.

The proportion of people who voted in favor of the Islamic Charter Front to the overall percentage of voters in the regional districts came to 5.1 percent. The proportions of people voting for the front throughout the provinces were as follows:

1. North, 6.5 percent of the total votes. It received one out of a total of 17 districts.
2. Darfur, 2.7 percent. It received one out of a total of 23 districts.
3. Kassala, 10.7 percent. Two out of a total of 23 districts.
4. The Blue Nile, 3.6 percent. Nothing.
5. Kordofan, 2.8 percent. One out of a total of 17 districts (1).

From the table, it is apparent that the highest proportion of the Brothers' supporters was to be found in Khartoum, Kassala and the north. When we realize that the adherents of Islam competed in the cities of Kassala and Port Sudan and won in Tukar and al-Qadarif, we can conclude that the centers of gravity of support lay in the urban areas.

The leftists were a counterweight to the adherents of Islam in the scales, if one considers that the Socialist Front, the Democratic Socialist Conference, the Communist Party and people running in the name of workers' unions and peasants' federations expressed the movement of the left; they received 5.2 percent of the total votes. The Communist Party by itself received 1.9 percent of the total votes of the people taking part in the balloting.

In the graduates' districts, although Hasan al-Turabi headed the list by a wide margin, 11 of the others who won belonged to the leftwing front. The Brothers' relative failure to gain a large number of graduates' districts may be explained by:

1. Their failure to present names that were well known to educated people (Ja'far Shaykh Idris, Muhammad Salih 'Umar, Daf'allah al-Hajj Yusuf).
2. Their failure to enlist the names of adherents to Islam (Babakr Karrar, Mirghani al-Nasri).
3. Their failing to register the names of their supporters in the areas where they had weight (Saudi Arabia, Egypt and even the Sudan) (2).

Elections among the students of Khartoum University took place the same year. The Brothers happened to receive 40 percent of the students' total

(1) Peothold [sic], Politics in the Sudan, p 254.

(2) Of course, the reason can also be found in part in the influence of Communists among intellectuals and educated people, the solid status of their organization and the strength of their media. In addition, the trump card, at that time, throughout the Arab and Islamic world, was that of the left -- 'Abd-al-Nasir, Soekarno, Ben Bella.

votes, the various groupings of the left received 45 percent, and 15 percent went to the traditional forces.

The Method of the Political Campaign

In their approach, the front's campaigns were basically directed toward the subject of the Islamic constitution, in addition to such other secondary watchwords as the Islamic republic, political purity and the articulation of the focal point of intellectual obedience. The front's means of communicating with the masses consisted of the newspaper, political tours for generating activity and activity on the pulpit, in addition to publications and slogans. Artistic, intellectual and cultural means for drawing audiences interested in culture, such as exhibits (1), carnivals, festivals, literary and artistic soirees, cultural panoplies and books did not manifest themselves.

The front emerged strong from the experience of the elections. It enjoyed popularity and won legitimacy and its voice started to be heard within the legislative system. Although it was dealt the embarrassment of becoming an opposition of the second rank, because the left outstripped it in the number of deputies, luck did befall the adherents of Islam, since the left's representative excused himself from making a statement on behalf of the left as a result of an emergency during the discussions of the speech on the coalition cabinet's role. All attention at that time was directed to the radio, since that was the people's first experience with parliament after a long period without it. Hasan al-Turabi, the representative of the adherents of Islam, happened to be cast in the limelight, owing to the absence of al-Rashid al-Tahir, who had been chosen basically in order to be a leader of the adherents of Islam in the founding front, and he received nine votes in addition to the seven of the adherents to Islam. Muhammad Isma'il and al-Shadhili al-Shaykh al-Rih shared his position, while Hasan al-Tahir Razzuq received 11 votes, among them those of Hasan Babakr al-Hajj (2). It appears that the measure of making al-Rashid al-Tahir opposition leader had been taken to satisfy him and alleviate his sensitivities regarding the changes in leadership; otherwise the normal situation would have been for Hasan al-Turabi to be essentially the person occupying the Islamic platform, in his capacity as secretary of the front and the Brothers.

Hasan Al-Turabi's Comment on the Cabinet Statement

The coalition cabinet was formed from the two major parties (the al-Ummah and National Federal) in June 1965, under the chairmanship of Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub. The cabinet presented a speech at its session, and that was followed by Hasan al-Turabi, who set out the views of the pulpit of the adherents of Islam -- "Are we Arabs or Africans?

(1) Limited exhibits appeared, mostly in the houses of students, for purposes of student publicity.

(2) See the Founding Assembly, summary of the first session, from 10 June to 8 July 1965.

["]We belong to Africa, and Muslim central Africa in particular. We must support the various causes of Africa, such as Mozambique, Angola and the Congo, and side with the issues of the peoples who surround us in particular. We also belong to the Arab countries, by virtue of religion, language and history, and must side with the causes of the Arabs in Palestine and the southern Arabian Peninsula. We also belong to the Islamic nation and are concerned with such causes of the Islamic countries as the problem of Kashmir and the problem of the Muslims of Central Asia. Since we are a member of the international family, we must not forget such other problems as that of Vietnam. As for the insurance system, this is a system which Islam finds loathesome because it amasses wealth, which must not be a province of the rich. The government must encourage the system of legitimate cooperative insurance and take charge of some aspects of insurance itself. Insurance is a right which the individual is owed by the group["]. The speech advocated:

1. An enlightened philosophy regarding foreign policy which does not revolve about the slogans of the cold war, such as positive neutrality and nonalignment, since we are bearers of the mission of Arab Islamic culture.
2. The guardianship of democracy.
3. A regional administrative system.
4. The liquidation of local administration in the northern area and the development of it in other areas.
5. A radical change in the laws.
6. A balance between total capitalism and communistic socialism.
7. Social upbringing for students.
8. A struggle against fraud, deceit, swindling and cardinal sins.

Al-Rashid Al-Tahir's Resignation

Before the Brothers could regain consciousness from the exhilaration of their victory at being transformed into a political force that could assume the offensive within parliament, al-Rashid's resignation came in the middle of August 1965, stating that he was relinquishing all contact with the organization of the Muslim Brothers. The reasons for al-Rashid's resignation revolved around (1):

1. His opposition to the pursuit of the liberal, subordinate approach which was concentrated on evolution through political rather than military action.

(1) Al-Rashid al-Tahir's account states that he resigned because nothing had been propounded regarding the previous experience and because the inner experience he had lived through in prison and the circumstances which had surrounded that raised questions within himself; in the course of that he ended up with the conviction that individual activity on behalf of Islam was possible (and that there was a possibility of working within organizations outside the framework of the Brothers' organization).

2. The Brothers' stand against putting the army authorities (the authorities of 17 February) on trial.

3. The existence of money reaching the Islamic Charter Front from outside the country.

4. There also was a feeling in al-Tahir's mind that an essential change had occurred. The Brothers considered that none of these declared reasons formed part of al-Rashid's resignation. With respect to the first consideration, as soon as al-Rashid abandoned the Brothers he joined the Democratic Federation. The second consideration was secondary in the movement's behavior; the Brothers' position arose from a religious consideration (loyalty to pacts), since they had made a pact with the military figures, along with the other delegates of the unified national front, on Friday 30 November, that the figures would not be put on trial, in exchange for their resignation. Regarding the issue of the money, al-Rashid al-Tahir made no specific statements about the body [sending] the money or its amount, which indicated the basic reason, which was that the new organization of the Brothers was no longer promising terrain as far as al-Rashid went and was no longer responding to him as he pursued his political aspirations, though there still was a place for him in the organization, in spite of Hasan al-Turabi's presence, since it was no longer the organization of a single man, after the resolutions of the founding conference in 1962, especially with the choice of the format of collective leadership. He might also have harbored the feeling that his dismissal while he was in prison was not an attribute of loyalty.

The Brothers' Consultative Assembly accepted al-Rashid's resignation. Although al-Rashid was the object of affection among the Brothers, his resignation passed without a division. The explanation for that perhaps could be that al-Rashid had gone to Egypt and stopped over as a guest of the Egyptian government, at a time when the Islamic movement was going through its third painful ordeal; this deprived him of the Brothers' sympathy and stripped him of the appearance of loyalty and devotion to the parent movement.

Changes in AL-MITHAQ Newspaper

In that period the editorship of the newspaper AL-MITHAQ shifted to Yas 'Umar al-Imam from Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, whose name had been connected to the organs of the Brothers' movement, from the newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN to AL-BALAGH and AL-MITHAQ.

The Islamic movement clashed with the two ruling parties over the draft of the law to amend Article 144 of the Sudan's temporary constitution, amended in 1964, related to the chairmanship of the sovereignty council. It was the Brothers view that "The draft of this amendment raises two issues, the first constitutional and the second political. From the constitutional standpoint, the constitution, in our view, can be amended. As for the political issue, it is correct that the character of permanence, with respect to the chairmanship of the sovereignty council, is more suitable, but, in 1965, Islamic elements protested against the five-party status of the sovereignty council on grounds that it conflicted with the symbol of the unity of the nation domestically and its representation abroad. What the principle of amending

the constitution meant was reaching results which would produce equality between the two parties to the coalition; a sort of balance was attained by assigning the premiership to one party and the presidency to another. For these reasons, we are opposed to the principle of amending the constitution, without consideration of the personal results["] (1).

The Campaign of Sympathy with the Brothers of Egypt

The extensive offensive aimed at the liquidation of the organization of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt and the elimination of its intellectual and political leadership began in the summer of 1965. This campaign took place after the issuance of two books, Milestones along the Road, by Sayyid Qutb, and The Pagan Era of the 20th Century, by Muhammad Qutb. The Front Charter covered this onslaught through intensified opposition publicity and concentrated on action from the pulpit and use of the newspaper AL-MITHAQ as well as Friday sermons in the mosques, wall posters and political marches (2). The front also sheltered the pilot Yahya Ahmad Husayn, who had fled to the Sudan, casting a shadow of tension on Egyptian-Sudanese relations as a consequence of which the Egyptian government informed the Sudanese authorities that it was accusing the Islamic Charter Front of providing the Brothers of Egypt with help in the form of money and arms (3). Ja'far Shaykh Idris and Muhammad Salih 'Umar wrote a series of lengthy articles in the newspaper AL-MITHAQ on the books Milestones along the Road and The Pagan Era of the 20th Century, Zayn al-'Abidin al-Rikabi devoted his chapter "For the Sake of Man" to an attack on the Egyptian regime and Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, 'Uthman Khalid and al-Rikabi were active in establishing symposia in sympathy with the Brothers of Egypt.

The Murder of Ahmadu Bilu

It seemed as if misfortunes did not occur in isolation. At the peak of the incidents that marked Egypt's ordeal, the Islamic world was shocked by the assassination of the two martyrs Ahmadu Bilu and Abu Bakr Tafaw Bilu, proponents of Islamic solidarity, in preparation for a military coup to take power in the wake of the chaos and confusion surrounding the incident. The event had broad repercussions in the Sudan. Masses of devotees to Islam went out, led by Hasan al-Turabi, Yas 'Umar al-Imam, Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, Muhammad Yusuf, Muhammad Salih 'Umar, Ja'far Shaykh Idris, 'Izz-al-Din al-Sayyid and 'Atiyah Muhammad Sa'id, shouting "Ahmadu Bilu is an immortal martyr" and ending up at the embassy of Nigeria, where a memorandum of condemnation was presented to the ambassador. The central committee of the Islamic Charter Front also met with the ambassadors of the Islamic countries to explain Nigeria's cause (4).

(1) See Hasan al-Turabi, the founding assembly, first session, meeting six, minutes of 5 July 1965.

(2) See the newspaper AL-MITHAQ AL-ISLAMI, from mid-August 1965 to September 1966.

(3) See the newspaper AL-MITHAQ, 10 September 1965.

(4) See AL-MITHAQ, 2 February 1966.

The Execution of Sayyid Qutb and His Comrades

On 21 August 1966 the state security court, under the chairmanship of Brig Gen al-Dajawi, issued death sentences against eight Muslim Brothers (1), including the well known Islamic thinker Sayyid Qutb. Starting on that day, the Brothers escalated a concentrated media campaign against the Nasirist regime. The newspaper AL-MITHAQ devoted itself to mobilizing opposition to the death sentences up to the end of the month, and the country witnessed demonstrations in all its towns. The founding assembly held an urgent meeting (2) to discuss the recommendation of Ahmad Mukhtar (District 36), Central Dunqula, which went as follows: "I believe that everyone who has heard today of the news which has been disseminated concerning the death sentence meted out against Sayyid Qutb and his colleagues has gone mad over it and has taken pity over the destiny of the Arab nation and the Islamic tendency. Therefore, I have considered it appropriate to present a recommendation that the assembly, through a cable to the National Assembly and President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, beseech that the execution of the death sentence be suspended and it be replaced by a lighter penalty["].

The two most prominent views to appear, expressing two different currents, were those of Muhammad Sulayman, a leftist from the graduates' districts, [who said] "Mr President, after all the emotional talk that has been made, I object to this recommendation on principle because it entails an intervention in Egypt's affairs, for what intervention could be greater than that regarding sentences, and we are demanding a change in this sentence which the Egyptian court has issued; I consider that this is an obvious intervention in Egypt's internal affairs," while the second opinion was that of Phillip 'Abbas Ghabush, "Mr President, I consider that we should turn to President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir so that he will not carry out the death sentence against Sayyid Qutb and his comrades, because Sayyid Qutb, as a result of his learning, has reached the highest point in the world."

Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir commuted the death sentence in the case of five Brothers and executed Sayyid Qutb along with two of his comrades. At this point the founding assembly held the prayer of the departed for the spirits of the Brothers, as did mosques in various areas of the Sudan. The Brothers also held a march in the capital which ended with the performance of the prayer of the departed in Finance Square. The response of people who sympathized with the Egyptian regime was to hold a march under the leadership of Shaykh 'Ali 'Abd-al-Rahman on 8 December 1966 to support the death sentences and to get that march, which was under police protection, to clash with one in opposition led by the Muslim Brothers, who managed to break up Shaykh 'Ali's march and chase its leaders off.

The Development of the Method of Islamic Action in Class Organizations

The Islamic movement started to express itself after October in new contexts which brought it close to a modern force on whose shoulders processes of

(1) Mitchell, The Society of the M.Bs., p 7.

(2) The founding assembly, session 112, transcript of the proceedings, Monday 22 August 1966.

resurgence have arisen. This extension included the sectors of workers, young people and women. This extension and deployment came about:

1. As a natural response to the requirements of domestic organizational growth and the movement's orientation toward the scene of events and centers of political and social power and influence.
2. As a response to the leftist tide's dominance of centers of influence represented by unions and federations.

The Women's Sphere

A second awakening in this field assumed form in the women's sphere, since the Islamic movement expressed itself in the current of the school of AL-MANAR, which had emerged under circumstances of military repression then came out again directly after the October revolution, when it started to deal with the issues of women's political rights, the new women's movement, the revolution of Eritrea, the issues of marriage for university women and the choice of husbands in Sudanese society. The Women's Front, which was established on 14 October 1964, arose from the AL-MANAR current. The preparatory committee of the Women's Front was composed of, one, Thurayya Imbabi, two, Su'ad al-Fatih Badawi, three, Wisal al-Hindi, four, Ihsan al-Kamil, five, 'Awatif al-Shaykh, six, Ni'mat Hasan, seven, Rashidah 'Abd-al-Muttalib, eight, Amirah 'Abd-al-Muttalib, nine, Hikmat Hasan and ten, Safiyah al-Nur (1).

The Islamic Front embraced a constitution consisting of seven articles. Its fourth article stipulated the following goals:

- A. The upbringing of Muslim individuals believing deeply in God and feeling their bonds with God in all their behavior.
- B. The elimination of all laws obstructing women.
- C. Attention to the Sudanese family and the establishment of a homogeneous Muslim home not dominated by anxiety or aberrance.
- D. The demand of women's right to vote and run as candidates.
- E. The support of liberation movements against colonialism in its Western and Eastern forms.
- F. The defense of freedoms and rights and participation in the establishment of an Arab nation and an African nation stable in its security (2).

The Islamic Front expanded in the capital and the regions and the day came when the front opened a medical dispensary in al-Abyad (1).

(1) See AL-MANAR, No 3, 1 January 1965, Sudan Library.

(2) See AL-MANAR, No 3, 1 January 1965 (the cover featured a picture of Lumumba).

(3) See AL-MITHAQ AL-ISLAMI, 11 April 1969.

The Labor Movement

The Islamic movement, from the time it first emerged in the forties, was connected with the workers, for whom families and battalions were formed (the generation of Mirghani Salman and Ibrahim Ahmad 'Umar Wazqali). This connection expanded in 1952 when Yas 'Umar al-Imam was sent to work among the workers in 'Atbarah; however, in spite of that, a more thorough awareness of union thinking was late in arising, except for Musa's activities in 'Atbarah; his connection with the movement did not attain the status of committed membership at that time, and the vanguards of committed Islamic union action began toward the end of 1964, before the October revolution broke out, under the leadership of Sulayman Sa'id, 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Bakhit and the late Ahmad Muhammad 'Abdallah, when an office was established for the workers established by the late Muhammad Salih 'Umar and Dr 'Abd-al-Rahmad Muhammad Sa'id (1).

The first action in the name of the Islamic unionists took place on 13 October 1964, when the office concerned issued publications attacking the military regime and inciting revolution. This current soon crystallized after the October revolution, when it began to oppose the Federation of Workers of the Sudan, which the Communists dominated. This effort ended with the birth of the Conference of Nationalist Unionists on 21 February 1965 in the city of Bahri at the Hillah Hamad Cultural Club. The conference consisted of an alliance among union personnel, brothers and other nationalist personnel loyal to the traditional parties. The conference had as its goals:

1. Independence and freedom for the union movement from all party or government influence.
2. The removal of Communists from the union movement.
3. The refusal to commit the union movement to political struggles.
4. The realization of the greatest amount of union gains and gains related to demands.
5. The rejection of professional union activity.

Representing the Brothers at this conference were Sa'd Fadl of the post and telegraph, 'Abbas 'Abd-al-Majid of the airlines, Hajj Ahmad Muhammad, Mechanical Transport, and Yusuf Mukhtar, Bank of the Sudan. Attending the conference were 30 union personnel, half of whom were Brothers. The conference ended up as a committee under the chairmanship of Sulayman Sa'id, with the

(1) Interview with Sulayman Sa'id. Yasin 'Umar went to 'Atbarah in September 1952 where he joined the Railway Authority and benefitted from the effort 'Abd-al-Shakkur 'Umar 'Atiyah had made in establishing cells among the workers. He returned, having been dismissed in June 1953 as a result of a union strike.

late Ahmad Muhammad 'Abdallah as secretary (1). The conference evolved into the format of the Central Federation of Workers of the Sudan, which became in effect a labor government arising from what was known as the Federation of Public Sector Workers and the Federation of Private Sector Workers, the form the Nationalist Unionists' movement ultimately assumed by May 1969.

The Nationalist Youth Organization

Starting in October, the Islamic movement involved itself in the youth field as an effective, influential force in the realm of tourist and social activity. The Nationalist Youth Organization was formed at that time under the chairmanship of 'Ali 'Abdallah Ya'qub, with 'Abd-al-Mun'im Balah and Musa Ya'qub as secretaries. The organization won over the Sudanese Youth Movement and held numerous festivals, most important of which were:

1. The First Youth Festival.
2. The Second Youth Festival.
3. The Third Youth Festival.

These all took place in 1965, the last on 31 July 1965. The organization also held press and culture weeks as well as an honorary week for the Sudanese soldier; the newspaper AL-MITHAQ put out a special issue on this occasion (2).

The organization also organized:

One, a day for children, two, a festival to honor the memorization of God's book, three, a festival to honor al-Tijani Yusuf Bashir and four, a movement week. Its major activity was perhaps the Production Exhibit it opened on 20 April 1968; this provoked a controversy among adherents of Islam because some girls made an appearance in the sales department (3).

(1) The conference committee was composed of Sulayman Sa'id as chairman, Al-Hajj Ahmad 'Abdallah Rahmah as secretary and 'Abd-al-Rahman Bakhit, Yusuf Ahmad Mukhtar and 'Abdallah Nasr Qinawi as members. The conference, in its earliest months, managed to win over 36 unions which abandoned the General Federation of Workers of the Sudan, dominated by the Communists, and the Union of Specialized Federations was formed. This was overseen by a central federation. In this period new union leaders appeared in the ranks of the Brothers, such as 'Abd-al-Rahman Qasam al-Sayyid and Muhammad Husayn in Mechanical Transport.

(2) See AL-MITHAQ, Friday 12 August 1966.

(3) The organization managed to bring Islam's statements on youth into actual practice and made people realize that Islam is a religion for young people as well as the old. The organization also managed to expose the Federation of Young People of the Sudan as Communist by designation and trained young Brother leaders in the area of dealing with young people and general dealings. The organization also took artistic and literary initiatives which underlined the versatile nature of young people.

The Student Movement

In the period 1964-69, the Islamic movement dominated the arena of student action. The list of the adherents of Islam always assumed a dominant position at Khartoum University, except for 1968-69, when the notorious Wednesday events played a part in raising the Communists' prestige. Even that development was at the expense not of the adherents of Islam but rather of the other camps on the left such as the Democratic Socialist Federation. The table below shows the strength of the Islamic tendency as compared with the Democratic Front, on grounds that they were the two basic powers in the period 1969-70 (1).

	Number of Voters	Number of Seats
1966-67 The Islamic Tendency	17,638	14
The Democratic Front	15,714	12
1967-68 The Islamic Tendency	19,897	14
The Democratic Front	19,157	13
1968-69 The Islamic Tendency	31,319	14
The Democratic Front	35,165	16
1969-70 The Islamic Tendency	32,920	19
The Democratic Front	32,295	13

The adherents of Islam were also dominant in the Islamic University. In the 1966-67 elections, their share was 31 seats out of 32. No one appeared in competition with them until 1970. In addition, the proportion of Brothers in the secondary schools in this period came to 10 percent (2). However, the Brothers' position was very weak in the Egyptian educational institutions in the Sudan, especially the Cairo University branch. It may have been that which prompted the newspaper AL-MITHAQ to devote a series of articles starting 9 December calling for the government of the Sudan to have an opinion on the [system of] Egyptian education, because it was disseminating "special" policies which might not turn out to be in harmony with the general educational process.

Section Four

The Dissolution of the Sudanese Communist Party (The November Revolution)

As we have seen, one strategy of Islamic action in the period 1965-69 was to secure the domestic front by fighting the Communist Party. This policy took

(1) Salah Eldin, KUSU, p 17.

(2) The Muslim Brothers during this period exerted a concentrated effort to form student federations in the higher secondary schools, most of which they had acquired preparatory to the formation of the General Federation of Sudanese Students. However, the leftwing bloc in Khartoum University and its elimination of the Brothers from the leadership of the federation killed the initiative, because no general federation of Sudanese students at that time could come to possess political and moral weight without the Khartoum University federation.

concrete political form as federations, a women's front and teachers' leagues (1), in an aggressive media campaign from the pulpits of mosques, political soirees and intellectual works, the most prominent of which was Belief in God and the Communist Dialectic by Fath-al-Rahman al-Ja'li. An effort was also made to encourage the political authorities to take official steps against the Communist Party, on grounds that it was the outlet for atheism and the undermining of faith, especially since the Communists had been offered a podium whose power exceeded that of the platform of the adherents of Islam. The adherents of Islam tried to find opportunities to provide a legitimate opportunity to strike out at Communist activity (2).

AL-MAYDAN Slanders the Commander of the Faithful

On Wednesday 17 October 1965, the newspaper AL-MITHAQ AL-ISLAMI came out with the headline "AL-MAYDAN Attacks Islam." The main story ran as follows: "On its literary page the newspaper AL-MAYDAN, organ of the Sudanese Communist Party, published a poem the day before yesterday titled 'Commander of the Faithful' which was filled with slanderous calumny against religion and evil portraits of the person of the commander of the faithful. We draw the attention of the security authorities and the acting senior judge so that they may take deterrent measures against this newspaper, to preserve the dignity of religion["] (3). However, there was no reaction on the popular or official levels until the evening of Monday 8 November 1965, when the incident which set off the explosion took place.

The Panel on Debauchery in the Teachers' Institute

At the Higher Teachers' Institute, in the course of a panel dealing with the subject of women in Islam, a student in the institute named Shawqi Muhammad stood up and stated over the microphone, "I am a Communist and an atheist and am proud to have been liberated from the superstition of God. I am not sorry to have lost the dancing girls and the two children. As regards

(1) The National Teachers' League was established on 8 October 1969 in the Graduates' Club in Omdurman to oppose the Federation of Teachers, which the Communists dominated.

(2) The Muslim Brothers' view of the Communists could be summarized thus: A, the Communists are advocates of Marxism, and Marxism is based on atheism and class war, which means fighting the Islamic religion and the requirements of this belief and crushing the Islamic heritage, which is founded on love, fraternity, joint assumption of obligations and the protection of private property. B, Communism is based on subordination to the Russian or Chinese Communist Party, and the Brothers' view of Russia, or China, for example, is that of an expansionist colonial state which is still colonizing 50 million Muslims and was the second country in the world to recognize Israel, which it is still supplying with emigrants. C, the local Communists are just spies and instruments of the major power, serving the goals of its policies, acting as proxy for it and spreading about degeneracy, decline and subordination.

(3) See AL-MITHAQ, 17 October 1965.

debauchery, that is an innate characteristic of man, and debauchery was practiced in the home of the prophet of God (a reference to the incident of the lie)[¹]. At this point the chairbeing of the panel, Su'ad al-Fatih al-Badawi, seized the microphone and set off the revolution, which the adherents of Islam have come to call "the triumphant revolution of Rajab [November]," which led to innumerable political complications (1).

From Tuesday, for the rest of the week, vicious demonstrations were launched in all areas of the Sudan in retaliation against the Communist Party. The Communist Party's properties and buildings were destroyed in the course of a popular outburst. The Communist Party held a conference on Thursday in which it denied any link between itself and the student. The case escalated on Friday, directly after the prayer, to a point the political authorities had not imagined it would reach, and it became a popular cause, threatening the security of the existence of the political authorities themselves (2). Statements were shrewdly issued by the Charter Front organizing the course of this people's movement. The leaders of the Charter Front began intensified contacts with Isma'il al-Azhari, al-Imam al-Hadi al-Mahdi and al-Sadiq al-Mahdi. These contacts concluded with the need to have an official measure adopted dissolving the Communist Party, confiscating its properties and proscribing its activity. That required a constitutional amendment. There

(1) The Islamic tendency in the Teachers' Institute had basically organized the panel to carry out the Brothers' policy, which at that time was aimed at opening up to female students and women in general. Participating in the symposium were Yusuf al-Khalifah Abu Bakr and Su'ad al-Fatih al-Badawi. Yusuf talked for a quarter of an hour at the beginning and excused himself on grounds that he had another commitment. Su'ad al-Fathi then spoke after him, concentrating on Marxism, Marxist literature and the practices of the Communists. The point the Communist student Shawqi had raised constituted her proof that Communism was against religion and Islam and therefore marriage and the family. She then went on to say, "I challenge any female student to say 'I am a Communist in the moral sense, I have no religion or morals.'" When the floor was opened to discussion, under Muhammad Ahmad al-Fadl's mediation, Shawqi spoke on the final occasion. Muhammad al-Tum al-Tijani, the dean of the institute, tried at that point to bring the situation under control by removing Shawqi, but the events had transcended that, as we will see.

(2) The first person to take note of the significance of the incident was 'Ali 'Abdallah Ya'qub, who attended the Teachers' Institute panel that day in order to be with his wife, Hikmat Hasan Ahmad. He found the Islamic students in a state of tension and said "God willing this business will break up the Communist Party," then advised them to cause the situation to escalate and submit a petition that the student be dismissed. When the demonstrations started out and people learned of the news, some citizens in the mosques and the streets cried. The Rajab revolution revealed the extent of the citizens' love of the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace) and their emotional attitude regarding the values of religious devotion. In general, the Rajab revolution is to be considered the first integrated people's Islamic action leading to the exposure and unmasking of the Communist party and the revelation of the value of belief.

were precedents for an amendment to the constitution, such as that related to the imparting of the character of permanency to the chairmanship of the Council of Sovereignty on 6 July 1965.

The Text of the Constitutional Amendment

The assembly held an emergency session to discuss the issue of the amendment to the constitution on 11 November 1965 in the midst of close to 100,000 citizens who had come from various areas of the Sudan. The assembly approved the issue of the amendment almost unanimously, after giving the Communist deputies an opportunity to make their statement. Hasan Babakr al-Hajj, deputy of the North Marwa district, in addition to the leftist deputies, dissented from the unanimous position. The following amendment was made: "Article 15 has been amended as follows:

"1. The following conditional provision is added to the end of Subsection Two of Article Five (a): 'Provided that no person will be permitted to promote or seek to promote Communism and nonbelief in divine religions or work or seek to work through the use of force, terror or any illegitimate means to overthrow the regime.

"2. The following subsection will be added, following Subsection Two of Article Five:

"B. Every organization whose goals or means involve violating the conditional provision included at the end of Paragraph Two will be considered illegal and the founding assembly may issue any legislation it considers necessary to carry out the provisions of the stipulation."

The Third Amendment of 1965

Article 46 was amended as follows: "The following provision will be added to the end of Article 46 (A): 'Persons who violate the provisions of the stipulation of law in Article Five (A) and persons who belong to any organization to which the provisions of Article 5 (2)(B) apply."

Revocation of the Membership of Eight Deputies

On the same day, 29 December 1965, Dr Hasan 'Abdallah al-Turabi submitted the following recommendation: "It is the opinion of this assembly that:

"1. In accordance with the constitution and the law, the membership of the following gentlemen has been revoked:

"1. Hasan al-Tahir Razzuq.

"2. 'Izz-al-Din 'Ali 'Amir.

"3. Muhammad Ibrahim Naqd.

"4. 'Umar Mustafa al-Makki.

"5. Al-Rashid Nayil.

"6. 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Wasilah.

"7. Al-Tahir 'Abd-al-Basit.

"8. Joseph Garang." (1)

By means of these amendments, the Communist Party was dissolved, its money was confiscated and its representatives evicted. Thus the Islamic movement considered that it had realized a great political victory, whose significance was not the constitutional measures, since their effect was that action shifted from one form to another, secret activity or activity independent of faces and symbols; its success, rather, lay in drawing mass attention to the issue of Communism and its position on religion.

A Constitutional Case

The deputies who had been expelled filed suit to declare the constitutional amendment invalid on grounds that the temporary constitution was frozen and could not be amended, especially as far as the issue of freedoms went. On Wednesday 8 December 1966 a [coup] attempt carried out by Lt Khalid Husayn al-Kadd, whose revolutionary command council consisted of the officer Ja'far Muhammad Numayri, Mustafa al-'Ibadi, al-Rashid Nur-al-Din, 'Uthman Muhammad Husayn and Babakr Ahmad Isma'il, was thwarted, and the first rays of the formation of a new socialist party under the chairmanship of Amin al-Shibli, to win over the entire movement of the left, appeared at this time.

The Supreme Court Decree

On 23 December 1969, the country entered into a vortex and a constitutional struggle (2) when the judge Salah Hasan declared the founding assembly's amendments invalid. That created a serious constitutional situation which led to the intervention of the Council of Sovereignty and its issuance of a statement in which it found the Supreme Court at fault and ruled that it did not have authority to comment on the assembly's provisions. This prompted the head of the judiciary, Babakr 'Awadallah, to resign, on the argument that destruction of the independence of the judiciary was taking place. The case was ultimately settled by a compromise solution with the submission of an appeal of judge Salah Hasan's ruling to restore the dignity of the judiciary while considering the provisions of the amendment to be in effect. The Communists and leftists formed a committee for the defense of freedoms which was immediately countered by the conference for the defense of faith. The latter ultimately assumed concrete form as the National Islamic Conference which arose under the chairmanship of Sayyid Amin, with Shawqi al-Asad and 'Ali 'Abdallah Ya'qub as members. The conference, as well as mobilizing citizens against the Communist Party, sided with the notion of Islamic

(1) See The Republic of the Sudan in the Democratic Era, a printing of the Department of the Media and Culture, on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of independence (1 January 1968), pp 20-23.

(2) Cf Hasan al-Turabi, Light on the Constitutional Case, Printings of the Government Press, 1966.

solidarity, which prepared the climate for King Faysal's visit to the Sudan, to which AL-MITHAQ devoted a special issue (1). In addition, Hasan al-Turabi and al-Shaykh Mahjub Ishaq were elected by unanimity to the positions of secretary and chairman of the Charter Front on 19 June 1966. The same year, the front embarked on the elections to local assemblies.

Some Events in 1966

After the newspaper AL-MITHAQ had finished with the subject of the dissolution of the Communist Party, it devoted itself the rest of the year to launching campaigns on social issues such as those related to the election of a beauty queen for the Sudan (2). The Charter Front also protested against al-Imam al-Hadi al-Mahdi's visit to Ethiopia (3), proceeding from its declared position on the revolution of Eritrea. However, the main preoccupation was the subject of the Islamic constitution, on which, in the front's view, the government had made no progress, prompting the front to present [the issue of] confidence in the government on 27 June 1966: ["]We recommend that it be an opinion of this assembly that it withdraw confidence from the council of ministers due to its failure to realize many of its political promises and commitments, especially in the area of local and national government and economic and agricultural relations, its postponement of the activities of the assembly and its failings regarding preparation for the constitution and the sections on legal and administrative reform["] (4). Of course the vote for the withdrawal of confidence did not meet with acceptance, which made it easy for Mahjub to provide a tribunal in which to ridicule the adherents of Islam and their weakness in accounting.

The Fall of Al-Mahjub's Cabinet

However, when 27 July 1966 arrived, Faruq al-Barir submitted another vote on confidence and the adherents of Islam supported him. The cabinet fell and the following were declared as candidates for the premiership on 27 July 1966:

Hasan al-Turabi, nominated by Musa Husayn Darar.

Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, nominated by Ahmad Dahab.

Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub, nominated by Mirghani Husayn.

Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi was elected prime minister, which had been foreseen, on the basis of the agreement between the two parties, that is, the al-Ummah Party, al-Sadiq's wing, and the Federal National. He was followed of course, by Muhammad Ahmad Mahjub, as leader of the opposition, and as a result the country embarked on a new period of party cabinets.

(1) AL-MITHAQ, 5 March 1966.

(2) See op. cit., 19 August 1966.

(3) AL-MITHAQ, 14 March 1966.

(4) See AL-MITHAQ, 19 June 1966.

The Year of the Islamic Constitution and the Islamic Publishing House

The front, as we have seen, presented the vote on confidence in the cabinet, Mahjub's first coalition cabinet, because of its failings regarding the issue of the Islamic constitution, since Mahjub was not personally enthusiastic about the Islamic constitution or the presidential republic but was, rather, a proponent of parliament (1). Therefore as soon as al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's cabinet came in (27 July 1966-15 May 1967), the Brothers concentrated on the issue of the Islamic constitution. The cabinet proposed a 44-member committee on the constitution which the founding assembly approved in its 13th session on 4 January 1967. Its membership consisted of the following: seven for the three large traditional parties, three for the Charter Front, two for the al-Bajjah federation, two for Nubia and the rest independent leftists and Christians. Shaykh Mahjub Ishaq, Muhammad Salih 'Umar and Musa Husayn Darar represented the front. This year also witnessed the fifth amendment to the constitution, extending the term of the charter assembly, which had been supposed to come to an end on 9 June 1967. Its term was extended to 29 February 1968.

The Islamic Publishing House

The Brothers were active during this period in establishing the Islamic Publishing House, whose intent, basically, was to respond to the Islamic movement's need to issue a newspaper; the paper had been suspended a number of times because of the insistence of the printing houses, that of al-Ayyam essentially, on reviewing the newspaper and removing material that was not in keeping with the house's policy, which the Brothers viewed as interference and a threat to the status of the Islamic newspaper. Therefore the movement arose to create an Islamic publishing house to print the newspaper and the movement's requirements in the form of letters and brochures and stimulate the process of printing Islamic printed materials in general. The construction of the Islamic Publishing House was delayed until 1968, when AL-MITHAQ proceeded to appear in its new form and 'Abd-al-Rahim Hamdi became editor in chief, succeeding Yasan [sic] 'Umar al-Imam.

The Schism in the Al-Ummah Party

During al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's premiership the dispute widened between al-Imam al-Hadi, who considered that his imamate should extend and embrace politics and consequently the affairs of the party, and al-Sadiq, who wanted to confine the imamate to the Partisans' religious affairs; this made it easy for the federalists to cooperate with al-Hadi in obstructing al-Sadiq's cabinet (2).

(1) Mohammed Ahmed Mohgoub, *Democracy on Trial*, p 183.

(2) Azhari was skilled in political maneuvering and tried to have the first president be a Sudanese presidency. That would be feasible for him only by keeping the al-Ummah Party internally divided.

The New Forces Conference

Al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's cabinet fell in the middle of May 1967 and al-Mahjub's second cabinet was established on 18 May 1967. At this point the New Forces Conference came into being. This basically entailed coordination between the deputies of the Charter Front and al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's wing, but it soon expanded to include the SANU Party (William Deng). The Brothers' cooperation with al-Sadiq's wing came about because the traditional parties did not estimate that the Brothers had great weight. Therefore it was difficult to reach understanding with the parties, and the alliance with al-Sadiq al-Mahdi took place. He had become more understanding of the Islamic movement and its causes, and in addition the adherents to Islam considered that al-Sadiq represented the best supporter for the time being. Their strategy also involved:

1. Mobilizing al-Sadiq to strike out at factionalism, tribalism and Communism.
2. The coordination was the product of a defensive strategy, since the big parties had tried to smash the front as a fledgling party, as the federalists considered that it was expanding at their expense in the midst of their own mass following, and the Partisans did not differentiate between the front and the movement of the left and looked upon it with profound skepticism.
3. The foreign element, Egyptian intervention and its effects on the Sudanese political situation.
4. Guaranteeing that the southerners took a [favorable] stand or at least neutralizing them on the issue of the Islamic constitution.

This conference did not develop into a political entity and there was no written pact, although the conference confronted the issue of the dissolution of the assembly as a single front, and coordination took place with respect to the 1968 elections.

The Islamic Movement and Mahjub's Second Cabinet (June 1967-May 1969)

The Front's Suspension of Its Differences with Egypt

Mahjub's second cabinet provided relative political stability as a result of the breakout of the 6-day war, which enabled the cabinet to suspend the sessions of parliament. At this point, from within parliament, the adherents of Islam declared the suspension of their differences with Egypt, due to the circumstances of the war. The front supported the principle of support for Egypt, but the weight of support once again went to the FATAH organization, for which the front made an appeal for donations of 1 million pounds. The front also appealed for a holy war to regain the al-Aqsa mosque and its young people enlisted in the training camps the government had established at that time.

As soon as the signs of war faded, following the Arab summit conference meeting in Khartoum, al-Mahjub's cabinet started to confront its fate, which

had been deferred because of the abrupt circumstances that had occurred, and al-Sadiq al-Mahdi started trying to regain his stature as a party head once most of the al-Ummah Party deputies in the assembly went over to his ranks in addition to the federalists who had broken away, the southerners and the adherents to Islam. A tendency existed to withdraw confidence from the cabinet in February 1968, which created confusion among the leaders of the two ruling parties and prompted them to think of a solution, especially since a reconciliation had occurred between the Democratic People's (1) and National Federal [Parties] which led to the birth of the Democratic Federation. This reconciliation, on top of al-Imam al-Hadi's withdrawal of "traditional legitimacy" from al-Sadiq and his supporters, disrupted the balance of power among the people, and, in the view of the two partners, the assembly no longer expressed the criteria and interrelationships among the new repercussions on the political stage.

The solution, as Yahya al-Fadli stated it, lay in dissolution, that is, the dissolution of the assembly; it had just 3 weeks more to run, since it was stipulated that it was to come to an end on 29 February 1968. The dissolution was carried out by decree of the Sovereignty Council and a broadcast by the prime minister on 7 February, and occurred as follows:

1. The dissolution of the assembly as of the morning of 7 February 1968.
2. The issuance of the law on elections by temporary order.
3. The holding of elections the coming 28 April (1968).
4. The submission of the constitution to the assembly for approval.

The Dissolution of the Assembly As a Result of the Resignation of One-Third the Deputies

In dissolving the assembly, the Sovereignty Council based itself on the resignation of 85 deputies, as a result of which it had become impossible for the assembly to carry out its task, which was to approve the constitution, as that required a two-thirds majority, that is, 185 deputies. The Communist Party supported the government statement and the deputy Muhammad Sulayman broadcast a statement over the air to that effect.

The Charter Front's Reaction

The front immediately issued a statement in which it described the situation as "a civilian coup, a conspiracy against the temporary permanent

(1) The Democratic People's Party considered the assembly illegal, boycotted the elections to it and indeed tried to sabotage them by running demonstrations which resulted in the death of 14 people in Khashm al-Qirbah, leading to the arrest of 'Ali 'Abd-al-Rahman on 2 July 1965. Therefore, 'Ali worked for and gave his blessings to the dissolution. The advance payment for the dissolution was the party's support for Azhari and reinlistment in his party. As for al-Hadi al-Mahdi, the dissolution served his purposes by pulling the rug out from under al-Sadiq and stripping him of his power. Thus he, that is, al-Imam al-Hadi, was the one who had religious and political trusteeship over the Partisans.

constitution and a betrayal of democracy and the national plan[""] (1). The front was also active in parliament's unofficial sessions, which concluded with the writing of memoranda to all government bodies, including the army commander (2), withholding the stamp of constitutionality and legitimacy from the government and advocating a refusal to deal with it, as the opposition did, by filing constitutional suit against the performance of the dissolution while also holding demonstrations.

Coordination between al-Sadiq's Wing and the Adherents of Islam

It became clear to the opposition that the issue was a political one and the place for resolving it was the centers where proposals were made -- not in any event the arenas of the judiciary. Therefore al-Sadiq's wing and the Brothers agreed to coordinate with respect to the elections. At this point the Charter Front decided to run in elections in 29 regional districts, 24 urban and five rural, contrary to the plan of perseverance by which the front had entered the first elections in 85 regional districts, with the goal of establishing the front's name and creating popular bases.

Wins and Losses

Out of the 29 districts, the front concentrated on those of al-Masyad, which nominated Dr Hasan al-Turabi, the secretary of the front, and West Khartoum, Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid. The front lost in the al-Masyad district and won in West Khartoum. Musa Husayn Darar also won in South Tukar, 'Abdallah Adam Zakariya in Maridi and Qasim Hassan Abu Sin in Rifa'ah. Thus the front guaranteed itself a podium within the assembly and an opposition leader whom history has looked upon as a Brother with integrity (Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid).

The front received 44,552 votes in 26 districts, with 2.6 percent of the voters. If we add the votes of three Islamic candidates who ran as independents, the number of votes comes to 50,000, or 2.8 percent. When we realize that the front had confined itself to 29 districts, that is, one third the districts it entered in 1965, it nonetheless got more than 50 percent of the people who voted for it in the 1965 elections, in spite of the participation in the latter elections by the People's Party, which reacquired its mass support, which had given its allegiance to the front, as for instance was the case in the South Marwa district, in 1965. That was one of the surprises of the 1968 elections.

'Abd-al-Khaliq Mahjub's Victory

'Abd-al-Khaliq Mahjub, secretary of the Communist Party, which had been dissolved in name but existed in actuality and practice, defeated his rival Ahmad Zayn al-'Abidin in the district of South Omdurman, and thus guaranteed a legitimate podium for the party within the most important constitutional institution!

(1) AL-MITHAQ, 8 February 1968.

(2) AL-MITHAQ, 11 February 1968.

The following table will give an idea of the strength of the movement of the adherents of Islam in comparison with the left, through a summary of the results of the two elections (1).

Year	Region	Percentage for the Charter Front	Percentage for the left in general
1965	Northern	6.5, one, South Marwa Karuri	3.6
1968	Northern	3	3.5, a deputy
1965	Darfur	2.7, one, Katam, Sulayman	
1968	Darfur	1	0.01
1965	Kassala	10.6, two, Tukar, Musa Husayn Darar	0.08
		Qadarif	
1965	Blue Nile	3.6	7.8
1968	Blue Nile	1.8, Rifa'ah, Qasim Hassan Abu Hassan	4
1965	Kurdufan	2.8	0.02
1968	Kurdufan	1	0.04
1965	Khartoum	11.6, one, al-Tahir al-Tayyib Badr	17
1968	Khartoum	15, one, Sadiq 'Abdallah	19, one, 'Abd-al-Khaliq

The New Forces Conference disbanded after the elections, and the Charter Front announced the end of the elections (1). The experiment of coordinating with the al-Ummah Party had not been a success, since al-Sadiq was not able to impose his will on many of his candidates, who gave in to the adherents of Islam even in al-Sayyid's district, where 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Nur ran against Hasan al-Turabi. The front's evaluation also stated that it had lost the votes of many educated women who had succumbed to delusion by the Communists and their distortion of Islam's view and idea of women. Uneducated women fell prey to tribalism and factionalism.

The Constitution Once Again

Mahjub's new cabinet was made up of eight ministers for the Democratic Federal Party, six ministers of the al-Ummah Party, al-Hadi's wing, and two for

(1) Patchel [sic], Politics in the Sudan, p 254.

the front of the south. The cabinet took up the issue of the Islamic constitution again under al-Hadi al-Mahdi's insistence and presented a draft constitution, which was submitted to the assembly on 15 January 1968. It was approved in the course of the first and second reading, since the draft of the constitution had Islamic features and contained an article stating that Islamic law was the basic source of the country's laws (1), and another guaranteeing citizens the freedom of expression, publication and the press, in accordance with reasonable restrictions stipulated by law although no one was permitted to promote or seek to promote Communism or atheism or work or call for the overthrow of the regime by the use of force, terror or any illegal means (2), meaning that the threat of Communist activity had remained and that preparation was being made for something resembling an Islamic state. As a result the Communists were prompted to seek a resolution; this met with a response in the Arab nationalist movement which Egypt supported and which feared the results of the unification of the al-Ummah Party, a unification which took place on 11 April 1969.

1968 was the year of the competition over the army, since al-Sadiq al-Mahdi (2) started to hold parties for senior officers in his home and, under the same circumstances, in December 1968, the early signs of the establishment of a broad grouping to avoid the threat of the establishment of an Islamic state started. To this end the committee of 12 was formed (3), consisting of Babakr 'Awadallah, Khalafallah Khalid, Ibrahim Yusuf Sulayman and Hasan Ahmad 'Uthman from the Arab nationalists, 'Abidin Isma'il, Amin al-Shibli, Mahjub Muhammad Salih and Makkawi Mustafa from the socialists, Taha Ba'shar, an independent Marxist, and 'Abd-al-Khaliq Mahjub, 'Izz-al-Din 'Ali 'Amir and al-Shafi' Ahmad al-Shaykh from the Communist Party. The committee prepared a political program and took the initiative of contacting the Free Officers' organization, which had deep roots in the Sudanese army. In April 1969 the al-Ummah Party was unified at a crowded celebration under the slogan "the country is our country and we are its masters." On 23 May, the parties jointly issued a statement declaring that the constitution had to be presidential and Islamic (4) and that permission would be given in 6 months for the holding of republican elections in early 1970 (5).

(1) See the draft of the constitution presented to the founding assembly, January 1968, p 20, Article 13.

(2) That followed his defeat in the 1968 elections.

(3) Mohd. Ahmed Mohgoub, Democracy, p 232.

(4) The movement of the Islamic constitution in the Sudan was influenced by al-Mawdudi's ideas and approaches. See, for example, The Codification of the Islamic Constitution, the Platform of the Islamic Coup, Islam's View and Guidance on Politics and the Law and the Constitution.

(5) The newspaper AL-MITHAQ AL-ISLAMI, starting in April, confined itself to [articles titled] Pursuit of the Activity of Masons in the Armed Forces, The Ministers in the Masonic Order and AL-MITHAQ Penetrates the Masonic order. It was totally silent about the Communist Party. See AL-MITHAQ, 1 May 1969, 15 May 1969, 20 May 1969 and 21 May 1969.

At exactly 1030 hours on the morning of 24 May 1969, a delegation of senior officers of the armed forces left by air to sign an agreement on an arms transaction in Moscow. At exactly 0200 hours, early in the morning of 25 May 1969, the country once again surrendered liberal democracy to the power of junior officers under the command of Col Ja'far Muhammad Numayri, as chairman of the revolutionary council and minister of defense, and Babakr 'Awadallah, as prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

The Resumption and Background of the Brothers' Conference in 1969

The political tension in the country was reflected as an offshoot of the dissolution of the Communist Party and its supporters in Khartoum University. As a result of this, the basis of conciliation on which the theory of proportional representation is founded in practice was destroyed, through the establishment of alliances among the wings of the left in 1966 and 1967 within the Council of 40 to isolate the Islamic tendency, which had the greatest mass base, and deprive it of leadership positions. This resulted in the total suspension of the federation in the 1968 session, because of the Brothers' boycott of the sessions of the Council of 40, which created constitutional paralysis and generated tension in the university sanctuary.

In this tense atmosphere, the ideological struggle assumed a provocative character which was dramatically reflected in the festival of people's arts held by the university's Society of Progressive Thought in the examination hall. The Brothers had rejected the festival format because it included mixed dancing performed by male and female students. However, the administration approved the holding of the festival, provided that rules be set out, along with an oversight council in which a delegate from the Islamic tendency was to take part. However, when the Brothers' representative considered that one of the conditions was being violated, he stood up in protest (1). A chair was flung at him and that started a struggle which left nothing in the hall untouched. This resulted in a split and severe tension in student ranks, which found expression when the Communists armed themselves with Molotov cocktails and skewers and the Brothers held the prayer for war. The atmosphere became electric when the student Sayyid 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Tayyib stood up and directed his family to provoke one of the Communists, who answered him with a fatal blow which killed him immediately.

At this point the issue ceased to be confined to the framework of the university and became a political cause enveloping the whole country, and the mosques and the press vied with one another in reporting news of it. The politicians shrank to the status of ordinary humans when al-Sadiq al-Mahdi, Hasan al-Turabi, Muhammad Salih 'Umar, 'Umar Muhammad 'Uthman, Muhammad Muhammad Sadiq, al-Karuri and Ja'far Shaykh Idris took part in the procession bearing the student's corpse. This led to an opposing visit after the procession ceremonies had been completed during the dusk prayer, when 'Abd-al-Khaliq Mahjub, Babakr Karrar and al-Hajj 'Abd-al-Rahman went down to the mosque and took part in the dusk prayer. Some people who were praying almost assaulted them. However, the atmosphere in the university soon contained the issue, which had preoccupied public opinion, and the representatives of the

(1) He was 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Ali.

various tendencies agreed to take part in a conference to strengthen the federation which was held on 11 December 1968, a week after the incident, under the chairmanship of the late Dr Ja'far Muhammad 'Ali Bakhit.

Education or Politics?

However, the issue occupied a serious position within the Muslim Brothers' movement, since it had raised questions which had been fermenting for a time concerning the movement's primary tasks, the limits to approving the virtuous and proscribing the repugnant and the connection of political education. This launched the question of organizational relations, the status of the Brothers' organization within the Charter Front, the conception of the main goals of the movement, the reform of the Brothers' organization and the enhancement of its capabilities (1).

Starting with the emergence of the Charter Front and Hasan al-Turabi's assumption of the secretariats of both organizations, the first signs of grumbling began to appear among Brothers who complained about the movement's orientation toward politics, the contraction of the areas of education and its loss of its role as a distinguishing factor in the Brothers' personality. In addition, the scope of the general focus of the Charter Front was broadened at the expense of the dimensions of the special focus, which meant a rise in quantity along with a decline in quality. The manifestations of this aberration were observed in:

1. Neglect of the families and a contraction in the battalions.
2. The Brothers' preoccupation with the general program at the expense of the special one.
3. Giving reasons, in dealing with women's conditions, based on the traditional criteria of submissiveness.

Since the criteria of the Brothers' movement were elitist and the Charter Front was a broad mass movement which was directed toward all sympathizers

(1) The issue constituted one of many occasions which demonstrated the Brothers' disputes over the platform of the appeal, means of action and the question whether it was more appropriate to concentrate on quality or on quantity. During that period, a current manifested itself within the university organization which pursued a platform founded on purification of the spirit, exclusive attention to sayings and doings of the prophet which concerned clothing, food and appearance, concern for prayers in groups, study of the Koran, the attempt to strengthen the reading and memorization of the Koran, and the concentrated reading of books by Ibn Taymiyah and Ibn al-Qayyim. This tendency's danger to the movement [lay] in its restriction of the activity of religious devotion to this small, limited context, which changed the nature of the movement from that of an Islamic one with a strategy for comprehensive change to a new juridical creed which drew the efforts of the individuals in it toward remedying small problems which led the movement into a narrow sphere and diverted it from acquiring political power and carrying out other political and intellectual missions.

and did not confine them to the restrictive conditions of the special organization, that happened to create confusion on the part of people who had no acquaintance with the movements of the masses, and this stimulated the spirit of protecting the organization from the challenge of the new mass onslaught. At this point, an internal settlement happened to take place as a result of which Hasan al-Turabi dealt with the matter of the mass (political) movement, while a Brother was provided to lead the internal organization. The burden fell on Malik Badri, but the latter soon went off to Beirut, and Muhammad Salih 'Umar soon succeeded him.

However, politics soon drew the proponents of education, the Brothers refused not to express themselves through the Charter Front and political action and the issue of internal organization was in practice forgotten, except in the university, where an educational current whose members mixed customs and Islam started to assume concrete form. Since the general base was not armed with the weapons of jurisprudence, and since there was no intellectual leadership with the same perspicacity and the same ability to respond, rather than merely acting (by reacting), regional influences and values started to predominate, and that was all clad in strict standards of evaluation and rectification which expressed themselves in the issue of people's arts in the examination hall.

In the midst of this intellectual and ideological chaos, the air was filled with a rumor which stated that both Ja'far al-Shaykh Idris and the late Muhammad Salih 'Umar had abandoned the organization and were on their way to joining the National Federal [Party], as a reaction to the rapprochement with the al-Ummah Party. That prompted Ja'far to issue a denial: "Neither I nor our Brother Muhammad Salih have party inclinations outside the principles over which the organization to which we now belong has reached agreement, and neither of us has thought of joining any political party["] (1). At that time Muhammad Salih had traveled to Lebanon and had started training with the guerrillas, aspiring to martyr himself for the sake of the al-Aqsa mosque. Muhammad Salih had a cautious, cogent view which called for the mobilization of the Brothers against anticipated Communist action, and he concentrated on the creation of a military spirit devoted to holy war; meanwhile, another current considered that political and cultural development would reduce the effectiveness of purely military activity. In the midst of these circumstances, preparation was made for the Brothers' 1969 conference, a conference on which Brothers in all areas of the Sudan had their eyes fixed. It was held in April in the Omdurman Cultural Club, in a context of secrecy, containing all the leaders of Islamic action. The conference finally concluded with agreement to the formula of a front, and the two secretariats were once again merged under Hasan al-Turabi's hand. Here, as was the case in 1954, a current stood out as a school and not as an organization standing apart in principle by its adherence to the al-Salafiyah organizationally and expressing itself in the ideas and practices of the Brothers in

(1) AL-MITHAQ, 28 March 1969.

Egypt (1). Brothers throughout the Sudan closely followed the results of the conference and in the period after the conference viewed the world through the question, Education or politics? Quality or quantity? While the Brothers were arguing about the issues of the al-Salafiyah reform movement and modernization, great political activity was taking place, as the Brothers discerned when they found themselves between arrest and prosecution on the morning of 25 May.

Chapter Three

The Substance of the Muslim Brothers' Appeal

Section One

The Nature of the Muslim Brothers' Movement in the Context of Renewal

Reform, in the context of the main points of Islam, is realized in accordance with two areas of emphasis:

1. The area of emphasis on the purification of belief of heresy and features of idolatry, the orientation of morality toward the true religion and the return to the modes of behavior of the virtuous predecessors, along the lines of Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab's movement in the middle of the 18th century and the movements of the adherents of the al-Salafiyah.

2. The area of emphasis on development and modernization for its own sake and affiliation with the West in the context of the creation of a resurgence embracing the programs of Western thinking for the sake of a forward leap in technology and the creation of a modern society.

(1) In my perusal of the progress and outcome of the dispute, it became apparent that the dispute was not over principles, exactly, but rather that the struggle essentially revolved about the leadership of the organization, that is, the same notion of "spoils" which had divided Muslims at Uhud and led to their inner conflict and failure. Therefore, as soon as the movement (the Sudanese Brothers' movement) acquired a certain amount of power, struggle became imminent. The current which was led by Ja'far Shaykh Idris, Malik Badri, 'Abd-al-Rahman Rahmah and Muhammad Madani Sabbal may have considered that it was engrossed in the sidelines in organization and remote from the locus of decisionmaking and that its position in the organization was not in keeping with its ability and virtuous performance. Therefore it chose to enter into a struggle and clothe itself in patterns of elegant principles rather than confront a program of Islamic social and political change. This current, in the 1969 conference, tried to present Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid as an alternative over whom the Brothers could agree in place of Hasan al-Turabi's leadership, but Sadiq 'Abdallah settled the issue by rejecting the principle. Therefore, it was natural that the conference should settle the struggle in favor of future personnel who had an ability to analyze and a vision of the organization's future role in the context of the existing balances of social and political [power]. After that, the Brothers' general conference made amendments to the Brothers' constitution and selection of the consultative council.

The Muslim Brothers' movement arose at the beginning of the second quarter of the 20th century as an attempt to create a third area of emphasis, a "way out" of the crises over the two [other] areas, because the movement of the first area was dedicated to one aspect of religion (unification) and connected to historical experience and turned itself into a successor of the movement of religion at the time of its decline, when later religious jurists concluded that they had no right to theorize individually about religion. This belief diverted the followers of the al-Salafiyah from the spirit and goals of religion, and the causes and motives which led to the dissolution and prohibition were lost to them. They directed their entire being toward the realm of ritual, to the point where they obliterated their talents on subjects of the imagination, which alienated them and the movement of development and modernization from one another, making them unqualified to respond to such general changes as the industrial revolution and so forth. It happened that colonialism took hold of them in a manner whose features still leave an imprint on everything.

The second area of emphasis meant the loss of the self and pursuit of the road of "Westernization," as was the case with Ataturk's revolution, which represented the defeated party's response, with all its cultural dimensions of capitulation. The Kamalist virus moved over to Egypt in the form of an intellectual movement represented by Shaykh 'Ali al-Raziq in his book *Islam and the Roots of Rule* in 1925, Dr Taha Husayn in his book *The Future of Culture in Egypt and On Pre-Islamic Poetry* (1926), Salamah Musa (*Freedom of Thought*) and Qasim Amin (*Liberation of Women and the New Woman*, 1905).

However, it was not easy to break Egypt in to the westernization movement, since al-Azhar exists in Egypt and there is a class of scholars with deep roots and venerable Sufi institutions there. Although these organizations did not provide shelter for any alternatives, they did represent a defensive deterrent which postponed the settlement of the struggle, if only for a time. Egypt also witnessed the endeavors of al-Afghani (1), who had tried to benefit from Europe's experiences with political action and led Islamic action to experiments in political assassination and the experiences of internationalist groupings (such as the Islamic League). Egypt also witnessed the endeavors of Muhammad 'Abduh, who linked reform to science and education (the reform of such educational institutions as al-Azhar) and the endeavors of his disciple Rashid Rida, which led to the birth of the al-Salafiyah school. In summary, one can state that the Muslim Brothers' movement represented the historical continuation of the efforts of al-Afghani, Muhammad 'Abduh and their disciples (2), since this continuation took concrete form in a movement which linked the contribution al-Afghani had made (interest in governance) with Muhammad 'Abduh's focus, science and education, in addition

(1) Jamal-al-Din al-Afghani was born in 1838 and came to Egypt in the era of the Khedive Isma'il Pasha in 1870. He was exiled from Egypt in 1879 and died of poisoning in the Porte [Istanbul] in 1898. He was a pioneering Muslim who was convinced of the danger of Western dominance of the Islamic East, and is considered the spiritual father of the 'Urabi revolution.

(2) See Rif'at Sa'id, Hasan al-Banna, *When? How? and Why?*, al-Madbuli Press, 1977, pp 30-31.

to depth in the mass context. Thus the endeavors from above ultimately assumed the form of a mobile mass current, with the result that the appeal became linked to proselytizers and a broad social current motivated by the appeal and connected to the proselytizers and their demands regarding change.

The Muslim Brothers' movement represented a response to three factors:

1. The dissolution of Islamic society, its gradual abandonment of its values and the loss of its *raison d'être*, activity and elements of dynamism and impetus which would ensure a response to change. This in turn resulted from a number of interconnected factors, most important of which were the internal fragmentation and decline of Islamic society since the latter part of the 12th Christian century, with the suspension of scientific activity and society's entry into the stage of imitation in the period following the wars of the crusades. The decline reached its apex when Napoleon made his way in 1798 to the citadel of al-Azhar. That represented the historic background of the weakness which had befallen the institution of the Caliphate, to which Ataturk gave the coup de grace in 1924.
2. The challenge of colonialism. Colonialism is a symptom of the disease, rather than the disease, but it added a new complication through its persistent activity which threatened to extirpate Islamic civilization, since colonialism deepened the feeling of inferiority, which led to the erosion of inner personality and consequently the corruption of intellectual and cultural life. Thus innovation and authenticity died with the death of freedom.
3. Secularism, its living embodiment in the existing political systems of administration and its intellectual atmosphere. While liberal party activity embodied secularism in its acquiescent, pliant form, the left embodied the movement of secularism in its vicious, combative form.

Definition of the Brothers' Movement

Therefore the Muslim Brothers' movement is a reform movement embracing education and politics as an instrument for the creation of a cultural change which will result in bringing Islamic society to the position of leadership of civilization in an Islamic framework and content: that is, it is a movement of social change which strives to gain political power in order to bring about transformation through reform and revolution, that is, holy war.

A Comparison and Summary

Islam, to the Brothers, is a complete conception of existence from which has emerged a platform of life that has spread out a shelter in the form of its various programs. The Brothers' movement in Egypt oriented itself toward the masses and opened itself up to the rural areas. The village or section represented the organizational unit and its connection with the role of science was late in developing. It also opened itself up to the world of politics in a gradual manner: although the movement was formed in 1928, it did not perform political missions until 1938 (1), whereas the Brothers' movement in

(1) The new Encyclopedia Britannica, Volume VIII, 15th edition, page 133.

the Sudan was a movement of educated persons, as opposed to Egypt (a mass people's movement), the school was the Sudanese Brothers' unit, and the educated Sudanese who was absorbed in the manifestations of religious devotion did not exist who did not express himself through the movement of the Muslim Brothers (1). While the organization of the Egyptian Brothers took an oath of loyalty, the Sudanese proceeded in accordance with loyalty to agencies. The organization of the Sudanese Brothers, up to 1958, represented the role of the educated group applying pressure for the application of Islamic law (the Islamic constitution), and in the period 1958-1964 the movement remained the prisoner of military coercion. With the October 1964 revolution, it rounded out its political expression, became an integrated, distinctive political unit and participated in political power for the first time in the context of the council of ministers in two post-revolutionary cabinets and in the legislative system, until the army once again intervened in politics in 1969.

Section Two

Intellectual Influences at Work in the Movement

Since the Brothers' movement in the periods of its historic growth basically arose from the workers in the city of al-Isma'iliyah in Egypt, in 1928 (2), Hasan al-Banna (3) enjoyed special status since he represented the spiritual, intellectual and political response to the demands of a people's movement. Therefore, the sources of the Brothers' culture, in the initial periods of growth, can be found in al-Banna's personality, but these sources proceeded to become diversified as the movement spread under the influence of the association of educated persons and intellectuals, especially the two men of al-Azhar (Muhammad al-Ghazali and Muhammad 'Abdallah al-Samman), whose learning sprang from deep within traditional historic culture. This current was matched by the current of 'Abd-al-Qadir 'Awdah, Sa'id Ramadan, Muhammad Qutb and to some extent Sayyid Qutb, whose learning was a seamless blend of the authentic and alien, causing the character of their writing to orient itself toward comparisons. Thus the movement began to be subjected to various intellectual influences.

Within this framework, the Sudanese Brothers' learning was distinctive because the Sudan's relationship to the Egyptian heritage had passed through

(1) Religion in the Middle East, Volume 2, page 153.

(2) See The Memoirs of the Call and the Proselytizers.

(3) Hasan al-Banna (Hasan Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Banna), a watchmaker, was born in al-Mahmudiyah, a suburb of Damamhur, in 1906, the year of Dinshuway. He died on 12 February 1949, the year of Palestine. His father Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman was the imam of the village mosque and the village justice of the peace. He was a graduate of the al-Azhar school and a disciple of Muhammad 'Abduh. He wrote works on the science of the traditions of the prophet. Hasan al-Banna had a Sufic upbringing, enrolled in the al-Hisafiyah order, was influenced by Imam Ibn Hamid al-Ghazali, graduated from the Faculty of the Sciences of Religion in 1927, worked in teaching and devoted himself totally to the movement in the forties.

the Egyptian crucible. At this point one must make mention of the pressure of the Egyptian cultural heritage, which deprived the Sudanese identity of opportunities for assuming concrete form in accordance with local needs, and Sudanese religious culture became a reflection of the Egyptian Islamic heritage, with the exception of the adventitious al-Mahdi.

The Sudanese movement in the forties and the early fifties drew the early features of its thinking from Muhammad Husayn Haykal (The Life of Muhammad), the works on Islam of al-'Aqqad and Taha Husayn, the magazine AL-RISALAH (al-Zayyat) and Mustafa Sadiq al-Rafi'i (The Miracles of the Koran and Under the Banner of the Koran), in addition to al-Banna's letters, the Egyptian newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN and the magazine AL-DA'WAH. In spite of the Sudanese Brothers' great esteem for al-Banna and their persistent remembrances of him, by means of the "transmitted materials," the movement was somewhat remote from the clannishness of culture which dominated in Egypt (although the sources of culture were not so broad that the Brothers could move on from the framework of its circumstances and thinking, which emphasized the glories of Islam, the grandeur of Islam, the sway of Islam and the assertion of its comprehensiveness, toward an objective study of dominant cultural currents, the adoption of intellectual positions on them, and their use in positive and negative ways).

In the fifties, a defensive Islamic literature was dominant and represented the historic continuity of the writings of al-Afghani and Muhammad 'Abduh. This defensive literature emerged as a product of the onslaught of orientalism. The writings of al-'Aqqad (The Truths of Islam and the Falsehoods of Its Adversaries), Muhammad al-Ghazali (The Slandered Islam), Muhammad Qutb (Suspensions about Islam), Fathi 'Uthman (Religion in the Position of Defense) and Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi (We and Western Civilization) may represent this type of writing and cast light on the premise from which the generation of pioneers set forth, since their writing applied itself to denying the notion of primitivism and barbarity with respect to Islam and replying to the suspicions the orientalist raised on the notions of freedom, coercion, women, slavery and other issues, which indicates that Islamic consciousness was more agitated over what was happening in the foreign world than preoccupied with what was required domestically, except for the writings of Sayyid Qutb (The Shadow of the Koran, Social Justice).

This defensive appearance remained the basic, predominant character of most writings, and they gradually evolved into a literature of comparisons, comparing Islamic and Western thinking, Western civilization and Islamic civilization -- al-Mawdudi (Islamic Civilization, Its Bases and Principles) and Sayyid Qutb (Islam and the Problems of Civilization). In spite of the benefit which can be derived from comparative studies, the agitated psychological climate in which these studies were written reduced the degree of objectivity by varying extents (especially [in the case of] Muhammad al-Ghazali). This comparative literature evolved in the sixties into an offensive literature concentrating on the evils of Western civilization and showing this civilization to be devoid of morality and grace: Sayyid Qutb (Signposts along the Road, The Future of This Religion) and Muhammad Qutb (The Paganism of the 20th Century). These studies defined the Brothers' vision of the world as one in which rot and degeneracy have assumed intense form and the

corruption of belief has reached a dangerous level and worse than that consists no longer of deviation and the rejection of religious teachings only but also the acceptance of imported foreign values and their substitution for original religious values.

These Islamic writs of accusation were the basic materials of the learning of the Brothers, who represented that segment of the Sudanese people which was the most interested in owning books (by virtue of the nature of the movement, being one of educated people). However, this learning, which continued to be nourished by the literature of writs of accusation, provoked enthusiasm and kindled excitability more than it amounted to learning which could develop capabilities of mind and movement and inspire action. The books of Khalid Muhammad Khalid, though he was separate from the Brothers, enjoyed currency for no reason except that Khalid's language was that of the "accumulation" and evocation of emotionalism, while the codified works of 'Abd-al-Raziq al-Sanhuri and Dawar did not meet with success worth mentioning, since they depended on the language of "connection," the conveyance of ideas by calm means. Not even the writings of Malik Ibn Yani, who visited the Sudan in the sixties, enjoyed popularity, since the Brothers' mentality at that time was more disposed toward polarizations.

After the October revolution, mass meetings, gatherings and symposia represented the instruments for instilling learning. This oral literature, in addition to the newspaper AL-MITHAQ, had a great role in making the Sudanese movement culturally distinct from the Muslim Brothers in Egypt, in spite of the profound influences of the Egyptian writings on the Brothers' written culture. The experience of the Charter Front, with the opening toward various Sudanese religious institutions which it entailed, had a great effect on the Brothers' culture and made them more disposed toward the notion of conciliation and liberalism at the peak of the popularity of standards of strict polarization (Signposts on the Road, The Paganism of the 20th Century). The women's and youth organizations and the magazine AL-MITHAQ also broadened the movement's experience, brought its mass following flexibility and realism and expanded the scope of its contact with people's concerns and problems. Although the presentation of ideas in the general context did not go beyond the format of slogans and generalized programs, the front defined its view regarding many issues related to people's lives (the Islamic Front, Electoral program). However, in spite of that, the Islamic constitution received the main share of the scope of political action.

The Brothers' treatment of Islamic jurisprudence was affected by Hasan al-Banna's style of avoiding disputes over jurisprudence and embracing proof. However, in the sixties that changed and attention began to be devoted assiduously to books of Islamic jurisprudence and comparisons without attention to the proof propounded on most occasions; rather, attention was directed to inferring the view of the writer himself. Books on comparative jurisprudence circulated widely (The Book of Jurisprudence of the Sunnites by Sayyid Sabiq, The Realization of Desires by al-Shawkani, Roads to Peace by al-San'ani and Provisions for the Hereafter by Ibn al-Qiyam). In the second half of the sixties, substantial attention began to be given to the jurisprudence of Ibn Taymiyah, to the point where his views were memorized by a large group of Brothers. A few people were interested in reviewing Ibn Rushd's Beginning

of the Individual Thinker and End of the Mediator and some books by Ibn al-Jawzi and al-Suyuti, in particular the book Proficiency in the Sciences of the Koran and the local Ibn Hazm, and some Brothers owned the seminal source books on jurisprudence such as The Standing Place and the Mother and some principles of jurisprudence. One can note an absence of the basic books on jurisprudence prevailing in the Sudan from the Brothers' libraries, and consequently their basic materials on the subject of jurisprudence, such as The Letter of Ibn Yazid Al-Qayrawani, The Estate and Malikite collections such as The Closest Kingdoms to the Creed of Imam al-Malik. With regard to exegesis, Ibn Kathir's Book on Egegesis and The Shadows of the Koran with the Wonders of the Brothers prevailed and such books as The Explorer did not receive attention worth mentioning. The Biography of Ibn Hisham also enjoyed similar attention.

The Brothers had a position on heritage, since their attention was assiduously devoted to studies of jurisprudence and the Koran, while they avoided books on belief, Sufism and Islamic philosophy, except for al-Ghazali's book Revival of the Sciences of Religion, inasmuch as this book circulated widely in the Sudan and because al-Ghazali was the closest adherent of Sufism to Sunnism. There is no doubt that the Brothers' culture was "extremist" with respect to the subject of heritage and ruled out basic books without which the heritage could not have arisen -- Ibn Khaldun's Introduction, Ibn Hazm's The Collar of the Pigeon, Regarding Intimacy and the Creation of Intimacy, and The Nations and the Bees, The Nations and the Bees by al-Shahristani as well, al-Tufi's Letter on Interests, al-Kattani's Administrative Arrangements, and others which give an integrated introduction to the Islamic and Arab heritage and mentality in its historic and cultural course.

The Brothers dealt with the sources of modern audio-visual culture (radio, television and the movies) warily and apprehensively. In general, they were more disposed to written than to visual culture, which may represent the effects of the al-Salafiyah position on fine arts in general. Otherwise, the Brothers preferred to read a story than to see it, and this may be one of the effects of the current of the sixties, which considered that the glory of religion lay in its past and consequently did not have a tendency toward individual theorizing and modernization. This current went to excess in considering precautions, paused before every problem which required genuine individual thinking and tended to give predominance to al-Salafiyah views.

Section Three

Receptivity to the Brothers' Thinking (An Analytical View)

Hasan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb deeply influenced the literature of the Muslim Brothers' movement and its ways of thinking. Hasan al-Banna was the founder and builder and Sayyid Qutb had a special school which advanced after the originator of the idea had departed and the movement had been subjected to jolts and calamities in the midst of intellectual and political changes and revolutions.

Hasan al-Banna was distinguished by the depth of his learning regarding the different types of Western and Islamic culture. He memorized the Koran and

developed a grasp of the traditions of the prophet, principles and jurisprudence, in addition to the Arabic language and Arabic literature. When he was a student he mastered 12,000 verses of poetry and a similar quantity of prose (1). However, his Sufi experience had the greatest influence on his life. There is no doubt that adoption of the rules of Sufism regarding education and behavior had a strong effect on people's spirits and hearts.

The word Sufism, in this chapter, has a delightful flavor which the words of other people do not have (2). However, he rejects the cognitive aspect of Sufism, because that was a layered intermixture of the sciences of philosophy and logic and the past legacies and ideas of various nations, and a mixture between religion and things which do not originate from religion.

Hasan al-Banna spelled out the characteristics of the Brothers' movement in his letter "Between Yesterday and Today." The Koran is what brings together the principles of comprehensive social reform, and its principles are confined to:

- A. Divinity.
- B. The claim of superiority of the human spirit.
- C. The stipulation of the ideology of punishment.
- D. The declaration of brotherhood among people.
- E. The uplifting of all men and women, the declaration of integration and equality between them, and the precise determination of the task of both.
- F. The provision of security for society by decreeing the right to life, conduct, action, health, freedom, science and safety for every individual and stipulating the sources for earning a living.
- G. Preserving the two instincts, the instinct of self-preservation and the preservation of the species, and regulation of the demands of the mouth and pleasure.
- H. Severity in combatting basic crimes.
- I. Assertion of the unity of the nation and the elimination of all manifestations and causes of dissension.
- J. Commitment to holy war for the sake of the principles of rights which this system has produced.

(1) Hasan al-Banna, *Memoirs of the Call and the Proselytizers*, Presses of the Arab House of Books, p 58.

(2) Op. cit., p 18.

K. Considering the government to be a representative of the idea, charged with protecting it and responsible for realizing its goals in a specific society and conveying it to people in their entirety (1).

"Accept the Koran, study it thoroughly along with the pure biography [of the prophet], read it thoroughly, and be practical, not disputatious" (2). That is, the appeal is founded, simply, on the idea of Islam as a religion and state.

Al-Banna preferred programs to conceptions or absolute thought, and preferred action to theorizing. His learning was made up of all the categories of the historic legacy of Islamic civilization. He did reading in al-Ghazali (the Sufi), al-Zamakhshari (the Mu'tazalite), Fakhr al-Din al-Razi (the Philosopher) and Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari (founder of the al-Ash'ari school) in addition to the writings of the predecessors and the Sufic imams. He also did reading in Descartes, Isaac Newton, Michel, the English astronomer, and Herbert Spencer, and quoted from them (3).

Conciliation Is a Characteristic of Al-Banna's Thought

Al-Banna did not bind himself or others to a specific doctrinal line. He was always partial to reconciliation and the creation of harmony among different opinions. He was always pursuing subjects which would unite people and his slogan "let us cooperate over what we have agreed upon and excuse one another over what we have differed over" was famous. Perhaps for that reason, that is, the propensity toward process and avoidance of areas of dispute, literature in the Islamic movement which dealt with philosophical or ideological issues became restricted and hardly found a distinctive activity aside from the Letter on Beliefs by al-Banna himself. As we have said, he did not belong to a school of jurisprudence, and he confined his effort to the implantation of thought, movement and education from which action followed. However, one can say that he caused himself to be bound to Sufic orders regarding education and conduct and was inclined in belief toward al-Ash'ari and in jurisprudence toward al-Shafi'i. Contrary to the view of Ibn Taymiyah, he was a reviver of the spirit in the al-Salafiyah school regarding the issues of characteristics, fact and figurative expression, citing Ibn Taymiyah's statements on that then propagating the point that words appeared in some prophetic traditions and verses as names of almighty God though the circumstantial evidence of conditions and the basis of the situation proved differently. He gave notice that:

"A. That was a form of figurative expression, not fact -- for instance, 'Do not curse time, for God is time.['] It is not proper that any attribution should be made or that he should be cursed or blamed.

"B. Everyone who is on it passes away, and the face of your lord remains. This is the same thing. Al-Zamakhshari said, 'What is expressed by "the face" is the totality and the self.'

(1) The Collection of Letters, pp 205-606.

(2) Op. cit., p 232.

(3) See in particular The Letter on Beliefs, pp 56-70.

"C. 'May you be created by my eye,' that is, may you be brought up by my care and my protection of you.

"D. 'Indeed his two hands were outstretched.' An exaggeration in the description of generosity.

"In resolving the article on interpretation and the denial of all attributes to God, we believe that the predecessors' views on tranquility and delegation designating these notions to blessed almighty God are sounder and more worthy of being followed. We believe in addition to this that in making interpretations, creatures are not obligated to apostasy or iniquity and the interpretations do not merit such lengthy struggle between them and others, in ancient or modern times["] (1). This letter did not meet with interest in the Sudan, although the people of the Sudan are Ash'arite by belief. The Brothers of the university, especially in the period 1966-69, continued to be more disposed toward Ibn Taymiyah's strict criteria regarding the matters of belief which leave no room for interpretation and are basically founded on submission, delegation and purification: "God is face, hand, eye and steadiness, as he thus described himself, and the identity of God is unknown, as are his face, his hand, his eye and his steadiness. The quantity is known and the manner is unknown. Whenever it occurs to you, God is the contrary, and to ask about him is apostasy["].

The Brothers did not preoccupy themselves with this issue and considered it an auxiliary matter. Indeed, Sayyid Qutb attacked the science of scholastic theology: ["]However, I stipulate and am certain and decisive that the Islamic conception will not be spared distortion, deviation and misrepresentation until we cast away from it in its totality everything that has been given the name 'Islamic philosophy,' every wellspring of the science of scholastic theology, and all the controversy that has been raised among the various groups and classes of Moslems in various eras as well, then go back to the holy Koran. We derive from that directly the attributes of Islamic conception, with a statement of its particular qualities, which make it unique among the other conceptions. We disagree with Iqbal in his attempt to formulate Islamic conceptions in a philosophical context borrowed from the contexts known to Hegel, among the rational idealists, and Auguste Comte, among the sensory objectivists (2).

Although al-Banna was a person who sought compromise with respect to the issue of heritage, Sayyid Qutb, to the contrary, though the aroma of the Mu'talizites was apparent in some of his early works (3), called for

(1) The Letter on Belief, Printing of the Arab House of Books, 1951, p 58.

(2) Sayyid Qutb, The Particulars and Attributes of the Islamic Conception, second printing, pp 11-16.

(3) See for example In the Shadow of the Koran, part 16, first printing, p 4 "The all-compassionate one has become steadied on the throne." Becoming steadied on the throne is an allusion to the ultimate in dominion and dominance. (In the opinion of the al-Salafiyah, the process of becoming steadied is known but the manner is unknown.)

transcending the heritage and returning to the [holy] book and the sayings and doings of the prophet only.

In the mid-sixties, the influence of al-Banna's writings began to diminish and receptivity to the ideas of Sayyid Qutb broadened. He gave these ideas concrete form in final formulation in his book *Signposts on the Road*. The book shook the traditional learning of the Brothers as much as it shook the Nasirist regime, since it included a total contradiction of what the Brothers had remembered from al-Banna.

The book *Signposts on the Road* made a good impact in the spirits of young Brothers because it brought final views regarding the issue of Islamic resurgence in a world shaken by revolution and change. The sixties witnessed the liberation of Algeria, the revolution of Yemen, the Syrian-Egyptian union of 1959-61, 'Arif's coup, the removal of Sa'ud and the advent of Faysal. The world resembled a manifesto with its decisive, self-assured, categorical language and its decisive stipulations regarding a world in which everything had been held up to question after Gagarin had circled the earth and seen that it resembled a glowing star beside the moon. People viewed the moon wholly differently from poets' statements. Sayyid concluded:

1. Pagan society is any society whose worship, as embodied in worship in the concept of belief, in traditional rituals and in legal systems of law, is not devoted to God alone. By this objective definition, all the societies now actually existing on earth and in societies which allege themselves to be "Muslim," lie within the framework of pagan society (1).

2. The significance of "sovereignty" in the Islamic notion is not just restricted to the receipt of legal systems of law from God. The significance of "Islamic law," in Islam, is not restricted to legal systems, and therefore Muslims do not have the ability, regarding matters concerned with the facts of belief or the general conception of existence, concerned with worship, concerned with values, conduct, values and balances, concerned with principles and fundamental points regarding the political, social, or economic system, or concerned with the interpretation of the motives of human activity, to receive from anything except that divine source, or, regarding all this, to receive from anyone except Muslims who have trust in their religion. As regards pure sciences such as chemistry, botany, zoology, astronomy, medicine, industry, agriculture, methods of administration from the purely technical administrative standpoint, technical methods of work, techniques of war and combat (from the technical standpoint) and remaining matters which resemble this activity, regarding all this they do have the ability to receive from Muslims and non-Muslims.

3. The great civilization never was Arab, but was always Islamic, and was never national but was always founded on faith. This led him to the point that the Muslim's nationality is his belief. Therefore, the nation of the Muslim for which he longs and which he defends is not a plot of land and the tribe of Muslims in which he seeks shelter and which he defends is not blood relationship. The Muslim has no nation except that in which God's Islamic

(1) Sayyid Qutb, *Signposts on the Road*, pp 108-113.

law is established and where the relations between it and its inhabitants is founded on attachment to God (1).

4. The crisis is embodied in the intermixing of the wellsprings of the Muslim's culture, that is, an intermixture which interprets the holy Koran, the science of theology and the science of jurisprudence and principles through the dregs of civilizations and cultures (the philosophy and logic of the Greeks, the myths and conceptions of the Persians, the Israel of the Jews and the Christian godhead (2)), which has caused Muslims to live on the periphery of Islamic belief.

5. The way to salvation is returning to the Koran with the feeling of receiving in order to execute and act, while stripping oneself, during the period of protection and formation, of all influences of paganism: "The vanguard must dominate this pagan society, its values and conceptions and rid itself of the restrictions of the pagan society. This requires of the vanguard that it follow through its steps in stages, that there be a stage of construction of belief, and, if this stage goes on at length, that in the course of it people's hearts become devoted primarily to God, by declaring their worship and the acceptance of his law and penalties and rejecting all other laws beside that in principle, before they are addressed in any detail about this law, even though they are part of it["].

To Sayyid, the issue of the appeal is truth or falsehood, or light or shadow, and the circle is either black or white. As for al-Banna, he lets the circles intersect, to create the zone of a realm between the two. Al-Banna is not hard on reality, where he considers it all falsehood, and disdain does not ultimately bring him to the point where he makes the whole issue truth. There is some truth and much falsehood, since perfection belongs to God alone and the society which is devoted to the worship of God alone is the society of paradise, a society in which no errors of speech are heard. Rather, to al-Banna, the issue is that there is a requisite minimum; to al-Banna, a critical stage actually exists if it does not transcend this minimum, but this does not lead him to consider society and its institutions pagan. For example, with respect to the system of parliamentary representatives, al-Banna says "The modern parliamentary system was organized as a means of bringing forth people who have the competence to deliberate through the systems of election and its various rare qualities which the constitutional jurists have set out. Islam does not deny such an organization, as long as it does lead to the choice of people who have the competence to deliberate" (the Muslim Brothers believe that the constitutional regime is the closest system existing in the whole world to Islam, and they do not make amendments in other systems through it). He talks about the Muslim Brothers' position on national and Arab (Islamic) unity: ["]The Muslim Brothers love their nation, are concerned for its national unity in this sense, and see nothing wrong in having anyone be devoted to his country, sacrifice himself for the sake of his people and wish his nation every form of glory, pride and honor. This is from the standpoint of particular nationalism; then

(1) Op. cit., Chapter 10, The Muslim's Nationality Is His Belief.

(2) Op. cit., pp 16-17.

this pure Islam arose as Arab and reached different nations through the Arabs. Here I would like to point out that the Muslim Brothers consider Arabhood as the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, knew it, with respect to the account Ibn Kathir gave regarding Mu'adh Ibn Jabal, may God be content with him, to the effect that Arabic is the language and therefore the unity of the Arabs has been necessary so that the glory of Islam could return, its nation be established, and its powers honored. Therefore, it is an obligation of every Muslim to work to revive, support and side with Arab unity. Regarding Islamic unity, Islam, while this is the case, does not recognize geographic boundaries, does not take racial blood differences into consideration, views the Muslims all as a single nation and considers the Islamic nation to be a single one, no matter how alienated its countries might be from one another and how remote its borders.["]

Al-Banna defined the Muslim Brothers' movement in the letter Between Yesterday and Today: The movement has general and specific goals. As for the general ones:

1. The Islamic nation should be liberated from every foreign power.
2. A free Islamic state should be established in the free nation (as long as this state is not established, the Muslims are all in a state of sin for their failure to establish it).

With respect to the specific goals, these are "the effort to reform education, the fight against poverty, ignorance, disease and crime and the formation of a model society which deserves to be attributed to the law of Islam." Al-Banna also had an opinion on the issue of the repudiation of the Muslim: "We do not repudiate a Muslim who has endorsed the two testimonies, has worked in accordance with them and has performed the obligations of Islam out of conviction or rebelliously unless he has endorsed the word of apostasy, denied something that is known from religion of necessity, rebutted the frank statement of the Koran or interpreted it in a manner which the styles of the Arabic language will not tolerate in any case or act which entails only apostasy."

Section Four

Some Issues of the Brothers' Movement in the Sudan (Critical Introduction)

The Islamic movement entered public life via the question of the Islamic constitution and Islamic law. This was not a new question; the al-Mahdi revolution which burst forth at the beginning of the 13th Islamic century seemed to have been impelled by the same question, the question of the resumption of Islamic life, in the context of a single house of Islam which would inherit the delapidated state of the Caliphate; the movement of Wad Habbubah (the offspring of the reaction) was alerted by the same old bell; and indeed, from the heart of the colonial institutions, the Consultative Council of the northern Sudan (fourth session), the question of Islamic law partially preoccupied the minds of the people at the conference, and a resolution was issued prohibiting alcoholic spirits by a large majority: ["]1. The Consultative Council supports the policy of preventing local residents

from taking imported alcoholic spirits, 2(N) the Consultative Council supports the prohibition of the distillation of local alcoholic spirits, and the punishment of that, [and] 3, the Consultative Council does not support the sale of beer and light alcohol to the Sudanese ["](1). Meanwhile the autonomy proposal won in December 1950, in the heart of the legislative assembly, by a single vote (39 for, 38 opposed).

This parenthetical introduction to the issue of Islam has been a reflection of the crisis of the loss of confidence in everything that was new, a crisis whose roots extended to the 12th Christian century when the door to individual thinking was firmly closed, which made Islamic movements, in particular in the 19th century, "fall into the trap of great questions," such as the Islamic League (al-Afghani's movement), without taking the nature of existing institutions into consideration. Even al-Mahdi, who began from nothing, whose movement did not even possess medieval organizations as far as the art of exercising power was concerned, and whose movement did not have the scholarly institutions which would respond to the issue of Islam in its objective context (the country of the Sudan), aspired, through his eyes, to dominate the whole world in the era after the industrial revolution. Perhaps the most distinctive characteristics of the al-Mahdist Sudanese endeavor at renewal were:

The Issue of Transcending Heritage

1. Transcending the whole religious heritage and confining the sources of legislation to the Koran, the sayings and doings of the prophet and the revelation (the ability of the al-Mahdist self to remove the barrier and receive directly from the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace)), in what was known as the prophetic presence, caused the Brothers to admire the al-Mahdist movement, especially in its confrontational platform, which was founded on fighting and asceticism in the world and central command (the art of assuming power). However, they hesitated before the issue of transcending the entire heritage, on grounds that that was the abrogation of every experience of the Islamic mentality, which would lead to a split between the movement and its education. What was more appropriate, in the platform of the Islamic movement, was to create a proper approach to the heritage, not abrogate it totally.

Revelation

The Islamic movement also hesitated before the issue of revelation, since revelation, in reality, is an expression of a form of the Shiite Sufi heritage, which the Mahdists ultimately led in an "external intellectual juristic" direction. The Islamic movement made the will of the nation the third source of legislation, as is reflected in consultation as a secondary source (2). It also called for the opening up of individual thinking, in

(1) See the Consultative Council for the Northern Sudan, minutes of the third session, p 4 (4012).

(2) See The Islamic Charter Front, The Islamic Charter, Chapter Two, The Constitutional System.

order to create an intellectual resurgence which would absorb the issues of the era of the society of technology. However, this appeal did not assume concrete form in an intellectual current of the scope of a movement, since the Islamic current turned away from this challenge in actual conditions and started to respond to the struggles of the period. This obstructed the formation of a sense of analytical program and the ordering of priorities, and the prevailing tone was the slogan of the Islamic constitution.

Going back to Islamic Law

In the prevailing Islamic literature, the basic question on going back to Islamic law without adopting an analytical view was, Why have the Islamic governments turned away from Islamic law? The immediate answer, without objective pause for reflection, was "colonialism," which leads to the point that colonialism, in its modern form, is a modern phenomenon which goes back three centuries. Moreover, the question concerning the Islamic constitution contains by implication the question "power for whom?" since the term "people with the capability to deliberate" involves the authority of the party, the vanguard, the alliance and the traditional entities. One of the manifestations of the crisis of modern Islamic literature is the intense vision of establishing a new Islamic civilization through the collapse of Western civilization, which was condemned with flagrant, severe intensity and whose condemnation became the essential manifestation for underlining the power of religion (1).

The Sudanese Islamic movement succeeded in drawing people's attention to the issue of the Islamic constitution, to the point where that included the Democratic People's Party, which stipulated that the official religion of the state was Islam and Islamic law and that Islamic law was the source of legislation and made religious education compulsory in theory and practice, along with the Islamization of the media and the adoption of Arabic as an official language (2).

Indeed, even the Communists felt the negative cleansing force of religion, in the sense that it cleansed the masses of any organization working to reduce the status of religion. The approved general report at the fourth conference of the Sudanese Communist Party stipulated "It has become binding on our party that its publicity line develop about the issue of the Islamic religion and its connection with the movement for social progress, and the

(1) This approach led to the birth of a school which made itself fail in proving that the principles of Islamic civilization do not differ from Western civilization and that the Muslims preceded the Westerners in applying them, which meant their endorsement of the validity of the values of the West and its preferability. This meant, for them, that our future is the West's present, and they consider the Europeans different only in terms of quantity.

(2) See the constitution of the Democratic People's Party issued 1 January 1965, Egypt-Sudan Printing House (Sudan Library). Also see The Reform and Renewal of the Electoral Program of the al-Ummah Party, 1968, Nile Printing and Publishing Press.

importance of this profound publicity line is not confined to reactions to what the reactionary publicity apparatuses raise but goes beyond that to make the Islamic religion an element serving the basic interests of the masses of the people["] (1).

The movement of the Islamic constitution still needs to be brought from the mass and legal context to the intellectual context, so that it will be feasible to diagnose the Sudanese identity, the environmental resources and the possibility of racial integration in the light of the historical experience of integration which began when the state of the Fong was established in 1504 and advocate an Islamic literature expressing the needs of the people of the Sudan rather than relying on the Egyptian crucible. Although the Sudanese movement, in written literature, relied on the Egyptian crucible, it presented itself to the people as a force opposed to the regime in the United Arab Republic at a time when the regime was linked to the intellectuals in its capacity as a pioneering regime which had driven out the monarchy, nationalized the Suez Canal and carried out agrarian reform. Nasirism was not a creed to be rejected by the Islamic movement; rather, it was a complex of positions, and the movement could support what was positive and reject the negative. Perhaps if it had taken that position, it would have supported the Islamic movement in Egypt in preserving its survival and that would have been more feasible than that of giving sympathy and support from a position of hostility. No serious political movement can rule out the Egyptian role in the Sudan; indeed, it is not in one's interest to put that role in abeyance as far as the Islamic movement goes, since Egypt represents a conscious commitment to the requirements of the "Arabization" of the movement of culture and thought which would inevitably result from the rapprochement of the Sudanese identity to Islam, on grounds that it is not possible to differentiate between Islam and Arabhood in the Sudan, since 61 percent of the inhabitants of the Sudan are of non-Arab origins (2), and, if the conversion to Islam is given the circumstances in the south, that would proceed in the direction of Islam through the means of Arabhood, since Arabic is the key to Islamhood.

The Islamic movement could have been distinguished from the traditional al-Salafiyah entities and tribal reaction, and, although cooperating with political entities (such as the Conference of New Forces) was something which the circumstances of political life had imposed on them, it would have been possible to keep them distinct by directing carefully studied programs and political intellectual conduct vis-a-vis the modern sectors which would deal with the issue of backwardness, women and the history of the Sudan. The economic issue would clearly benefit the movement's establishment of its new camp, which would mean partiality toward the social groups which had civilized values. This would mean that the movement would have two levels of

(1) See Marxism and the Issues of the Sudanese Revolution, Part Two, House of Socialist Thought, publishers, Khartoum, February 1[9]65, p 246.

(2) 18 January 1958 census: Arabs, 39 percent, southerners, 30 percent, Gharabah, Fur and others, 13 percent, Nubians, 3 percent, Bajjah, 6 percent, Nubah, 6 percent and other elements, 3 percent. Of course, the first proportion, 39 percent, does not consist of pure Arabs.

dealings, on the mass and elite levels, in a manner which would lead to specialization within the organization without an overlap in form.

The Muslim women's movement expressed itself in the current of the al-Manar school, which soon led to the birth of the women's front. However, in spite of that, new women and many Brothers continued to view women through al-Mawdudi's book *The Veil*. Writings appeared in AL-MANAR magazine which tried to present a new view of the issue of women in the context of their political and social rights, especially regarding the issues of marriage: "The way which I consider appropriate, and appeal for, in order to reduce the obstacles to choice as far as young men and women are concerned, is for us to abandon these exaggerated forms of segregation of men and women in our society, especially the towns, which reaches an extent religion cannot support. This exaggerated manifestation emerged in the eras of Islamic decline and was later considered an integral part of Islam and essentially part of the firm foundations which no one can agree with. The fact is that this exaggerated form of segregation of the two sexes through what are known as the harem and the veil find no support in the binding principles of religion [""] (1). The Brothers pursued individual theorizing on emphasizing Muslim women, who were distinguished by their dress. In addition, Thurayya Imbabi participated in committees and federations throughout the universities, participated in the elections of the first founding assembly in 1965 and gave talks at political soirees, her picture appeared in publicity papers in the Cairo University branch (while her picture was absent in Khartoum University) and she was distinguished by an independent federation at Omdurman Islamic University. Perhaps the most important integrated action concerning women was a small letter of 46 small pages which was recently issued under the title *Women between the Teachings of Religion and the Traditions of Society* (2). The letter acquired stipulations of Islamic law and testimonials as if it was a descriptive piece on the status of women in the society of the prophetic call, and reached the conclusion that:

1. Women were never assigned at certain times to a separate council except for practical reasons, which were the predominance of men in proximity to the prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace) and women's failure to hear, which points out that the basic point is to take part in listening.
2. Women went out on the road for their needs and would witness the market, even as female merchants or supervisors.
3. It gave as witness communities of Muslims in general and their festivals; public life was not a stage for men alone, and there was no barrier between men and women in a place which brought people together (women could receive the guests of the family, talk to them and serve them, and they were permitted access to the family councils and allowed to gather together in homes and elsewhere).

(1) Muhammad Salih 'Umar, *The Choice of Husbands in Sudanese Society*, AL-MANAR magazine, No 2, p 22.

(2) See *Women between the Teachings of Religion and the Traditions of Society*, pp 2, 17, 19, 33.

4. Revolution against women's traditional conditions is coming and is inevitable, and it would be more appropriate for adherents to Islam to lead the upsurge of women themselves than to be stranded in traditional conditions. In addition there are the women's right to ownership, action, the witnessing of prayer and speeches, their independence regarding expenditures and their exposure to military campaigns with which books on jurisprudence are packed.

Sunnite or Shiite

The effects of doctrinal entrapment did not extend to the Brothers in their writings or in their assertions of thought related to the movement, although the movement assumed the platform of the intellectual frameworks which prevailed in the thinking of the people of the Sudan, since they love the people of the house [of God] and it is not felt, with respect to their culture, that such intellectual partiality existed toward either of the two schools which were the offspring of the historic schism following the battle of Saffin between 'Ali and Mu'awiyah. Perhaps that is one of the effects of the culture of the people of the Sudan, which has intermixed rationalism, Sufism and the adherence to jurisprudence, preparing the Islamic movement of the Sudan to play a distinctive role in reconciling the literature of the Sunnites and the Shiites should the movement develop its intellectual and political resources.

The Issue of the South: The Solution Regarding Civilization

The Islamic [movement] did not devote itself thoroughly to the study of the issue of the south or the issue of the missionary communities in Sudanese society as a whole. This resulted from the assumption by political tasks of priority over the view regarding civilization. However, the Brothers have a conviction (1) that a political solution is merely a temporary remedy, that the issue of the south is one of civilization in the first place and that the solution regarding civilization is for the entire Sudanese personality to be fused into the mold of Islamic culture -- with the exception of the units which have completed formulating their identity in terms of civilization, since all the ingredients for the continuity of this identity have been provided for them. However, this view continued to lack a practical translation into reality in the field, which perhaps resulted from priority being given to political action. In addition, the movement perhaps felt that that was the duty of the central authority, and perhaps considered that it lacked the qualified human personnel to carry out proselytizing missions; in addition there was the question of material coverage for such action. However, in the context of the general political treatment, the Brothers adopted the plan for regional rule as stated in the draft constitution of 15 January 1968, which stipulated that:

1. A council would be established in each region called the council of the region, which would exercise the power of legislation in accordance with the provisions of the constitution within the confines of the region.

(1) Summarized from discussions with al-Turabi, Yas 'Umar and so forth.

2. An executive council would be established in each region which would take charge of the executive power within the confines of the region, in accordance with the provisions of the national and regional laws.

3. The governor would chair the executive council and would be responsible for apportioning the activities of the council and coordinating its executive policy.

4. The president would appoint a governor to each region, a person whom the council of the region would choose by unanimity from among three persons from the region whom the president would nominate (1).

The Question of Organizational Permanence

The Islamic movement in the schools and universities attracted the overwhelming majority of the deeply religious, but this bond was severed in many cases after graduation. In the view of Dr Mustafa Khujali, that may be attributed to the allures of life, since the more contact with life a person's identity had, the more he thought of his future and became oriented toward his own self; although the organization's performance played no part in the lapse of membership, the prevailing tendency among the Brothers was that the reason lay in the Brothers' inability to follow up on Brothers outside the university and the inability to employ the Brothers' talents in frameworks which would respond to their desires and make provision for them to pursue their advancement. It was rare that a Brother would go against the organization to the extent of rebelling against it, since nostalgia would encroach upon most Brothers who left the organization for one reason or another and they would consider the most beautiful days of their lives to have been those which had been connected to the organization (Mirghani al-Nasri, Dr Mustafa Khujali). In any event, even the people who broke off from the organization for good ended up pursuing Sufism, in full sympathy with the slogan of Islamic law (2).

The Question of Change

The bitterness of the experiences the Islamic movements went through dictated that these movements think with the mentality of concentrating fire. However, in spite of the Islamic movements' awareness of the importance of military action in bringing about Islamic change, the road to the army seemed to be closed to the adherents of Islam. This caused some people to wager on the importance of the nation's cultural and political development, which would reduce the role of the army and place initiative in the hands of the masses, who would receive their will from the educated class. However, the adherents of Islam had to ask themselves why the receptivity toward Islamic change was weak in the army. The answer lay in the history of armies in the Islamic world, since the army was the first agency to have been secularized, that is, to have been modernized in the Islamic world in the

(1) See the draft of the permanent constitution submitted to the founding assembly on 15 January 1968.

(2) Al-Rashid al-Tahir Bakr expressed the same sentiments.

Western pattern. Perhaps the beginning was in the state of the Ottoman Caliphate, since as soon as Russia's star rose in the 18th century and it began to expand at the expense of Turkey and subject it to successive defeats, the Ottomans reached the conclusion that the reason for the setbacks was related to the soldiers [sic] of the army on the military notion of holy war, and not the contrary, and that the requisite reform would be to build the army on a non-religious basis, along the lines of the European pattern. In 1832 the last remnants of the Janissary army were eliminated and the secular army, its conduct, its morality and its tactics were established. From Turkey the situation spread to Muhammad 'Ali in Egypt, with the result that the army became the first organization to be secularized. In the Sudan, the secularization of the army started with the elimination of the al-Mahdi army after the process of the recolonization of the Sudan in 1898 and then the establishment of the Sudan defense force on 25 January 1925 (1). This was accompanied by the establishment of the War College in 1908; this was soon closed after the demonstration of the students of the War College in 1924 and was reopened in 1935, in conjunction with the circumstances of World War Two, to respond to the colonialists' needs for qualified officers. Then it was soon closed and was only reopened again in 1948. Since the armies' communities were closed ones, it was not an easy matter to change their nature from within, as happened in the educational institutions, which responded to the call for religion. Therefore, since the atmosphere of the armies in the Islamic countries was only secular, there was a receptivity to the left and other secular movements. Here is where the struggle between Islamic movements and national movements of officers arises, since the latter, even if they are enthusiastic over the question of change, must ultimately bow down before the call of secularism, because that is the will of the dominant party, that is, the party of the army.

The Brothers by the New Criteria

Modern political thinking was colored by expressions based on criteria which the masses soon started to reiterate. These expressions were not just channels for conveying ideas; rather, the bell of the word also became an echo of various intellectual and psychological tendencies, feelings and reactions. Words such as "progressivism," "reaction" and "socialism" might not mean anything if we look at them from a specific intellectual viewpoint, and how not, for progressivism, in Western Europe and America, means liberalism and its free individual political organizations for men and women, while the word progressivism assumes a different dimension in Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe, where the word is tied to the notion of social justice (economic freedom). Therefore, although it is necessary to measure the Brothers' movement by these criteria, our frame of reference should be in accordance with the Islamic point of view and it should be a frame of comparison between the Brothers' movement and religious movements equivalent to it, first of all, then the national and intellectual movements.

(1) Brig Gen 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Fakki, History of the Defense Force of the Sudan in the Sudanese House, p 137 (through this we can understand why the army did not play a role in the national movement starting with its modern formation in 1925, after the events of the revolution of 'Abd-al-Fudayl Al-maz).

An Improper Accusation

The Brothers have been accused of reaction, which is an improper accusation, or, more correctly, an inaccurate one. They have to a large extent been progressive, as far as the parent movement in Egypt goes, in their social movement, in theory and practice, and they have been progressive in their agricultural and commercial activity -- these are matters over which there is no doubt (1). It is sufficient to say that they opened no less than 1,000 schools (2) and no less than 100 treatment centers. In addition, the movement, in general, attained its international status through its struggle with the British army of occupation in Suez and through its struggle with the Jews in Palestine -- a struggle which began in 1936 when a young Brother infiltrated into Palestine and took part in 'Izz-al-Din al-Qassam's revolution in 1936. As soon as 1948-49 came, the Brothers launched whole battalions and started guerrilla war (3). In addition, the July revolution arose under the protection of the Muslim Brothers' movement (4).

In the Sudan, the movement, by virtue of its composition, represents the new because it is basically a movement of educated people. It is the sole political movement which has had the ability to change its leaders without its effectiveness being affected thereby: over a quarter century of time (1944-69) no less than seven people have succeeded one another in leading the movement and the movement still retains its power and special and general character ('Awad 'Umar, 'Ali Taliballah, Babakr Karrar, al-Rashid al-Tahir, Sadiq 'Abdallah, Muhammad Yusuf and Hasan al-Turabi). This points to the special nature of the movement, the depth of the collective spirit, its alienation from fanatical attitudes toward individuals and its attachment to principles. The movement has also been progressive even by the standards of the left, since it responded favorably to the revolution of Iraq in 1958, welcomed Nkrumah, ran demonstrations in support of Lumumba, called for the recognition of People's China and its entry into the United Nations, worked to bring down Haile Selassie's regime and supported the revolution of Eritrea, Algeria and Chad, and its men at the leadership level volunteered for the war in Palestine (Muhammad Salih 'Umar). Perhaps the masses, in their orientation toward Islam, experience a degree of loyalty to Arab goals and a degree of readiness to sacrifice themselves to these goals which is higher than the degree of devotion which some intellectuals who have nationalistic principles experience regarding the same goals (5).

(1) Al-Husayni, The Major Movements, p 154.

(2) Mitchell, Muslim Brothers, p 291.

(3) See Kamil Isma'il al-Sharif, The Muslim Brothers in the Palestine War.

(4) Smith, in his book Islam in Modern History, says ["]It is in no way correct that we should consider the Muslim Brothers reactionaries. This movement made an attempt which merits wonderment and esteem to establish a modern society on the bases of social justice and love of mankind["]. P 1661.

(5) The Grant of Peace, Islam and the Arab Liberation Movement, The Arab Institute for Studies and Publication, p 55.

The movement, contrary to other religious entities, also embraces modern methods of organization and the discipline and rapid mobility which are a consequence of that (1). The movement in its economic program also gives priority to the cooperative sector. In regard to the private sector, the bestowal of land as a fiefdom is contingent on limited, renewable periods, while the massive projects remain property of the government (whether it is central or regional). However, in spite of that, the economic view of the movement remains confined to conceptions and has not been revealed in programs specifying the method of development (balanced or unbalanced), foreign trade, banks and banking institutions (subjected to the control of the government or left to the private sector), the system and philosophy of wages, and the method of appraising the value of labor.

On the Management of Civilization

The movement's political development was not accompanied by intellectual, literary and artistic development -- with the exception of poetry (2) -- and the movement has still fallen totally short in regard to human innovation, since the progress which is desired in the Islamic movement is one of civilization. However, the management of the movement never was the prisoner of political action. The advantage of a movement of civilization is that it contains scope and breadth and also weakens the causes of dissension and dispute with countervailing entities. The movement of civilization brings people together and does not divide them, because it is a movement of a new society with all its cultural, social, political and economic dimensions. It has perhaps not been a coincidence that we can hardly find room in the literature of the movement for stories, the theater and songs, and it would have been a difference [as great as that] between night and day had the movement's orientation turned in this direction. Perhaps this shortcoming in innovation created a serious disruption in the issue of the use of words, since words became a means, on many occasions, for artistic expression, even in the case of issues where the task of words basically is to convey an economic or political notion, requiring that words be stripped of all connotations. However, when there was a shortcoming in the non-innovative areas, words became an instrument of accumulation and conveyance, this plague worked its way into many Islamic writers and the characteristic of their writings became emotion, depiction, embellishment and some of the art of metaphor. Perhaps the cause for this in part is that the intellectual wants to possess the instruments of the artist because of the absence of the latter, while the intellectual's language must be programmatic, analytical and mathematical, and the artist deals with the longings of the spirit and the

(1) See Muhammad Abu al-Qasim, Counterrevolution in the Sudan, The al-Tali'ah Printing and Publishing House, Beirut, pp 113-115.

(2) Numerous poets whose hymns the Brothers sing made their appearance on behalf of the Islamic movement, for instance Dr 'Ali 'Abd-al-Rahman and Imam 'Ali al-Shaykh. The generation of leaders of Islamic poets tended toward rhymed poetry. Most of their poetry was epic and oratorical, speaking of the glories of Islam. We also find the poetry of occasions, which speaks about the battles of the modern Islamic movement in Egypt and mourns its heroes, such as Sayyid Qutb and so forth, as part of this work.

body's partiality toward the mentality of excitation and feeling and the generation of meanings, because the minimum which is required of him is to give vent and let air circulate, while the minimum which is required of the intellectual is to set out the issue and present facts and information. That is not to deny that it is literature which plays the basic role in moving the masses and that literature is the commodity of the literary person, the person who has the final say in triggering revolution. Thought is for the elite, and the role of ideas is manifested in winning over the minds of others, establishing intellectual convictions and trying to reach conclusions which are nearly certain. Intellectual conviction does not lead to revolution, since that is the function of literature and the function of the poet, storyteller and speaker, whose role is manifested in kindling enthusiasm, igniting emotions and portraying different patterns of injustice, leading to the creation of the circumstances of revolution among the masses, who are moved by symbols and slogans, not logical issues and rational convictions.

Section Five

The Brothers and the Modern Ideologies of Arab Revolution

Arab Nationalism: A Historic Introduction

In 1517, the armies of the Ottoman Sultan Selim the First demolished the troops of the Mameluke Sultan Qunsuwah al-Maghuri, and thus the state of the Mamelukes ended and the Islamic world became a single political unit governed by means of the Ottoman Caliph from the porte. Thus, the Arab peoples, or, say, Islam, entered into a new experience, which deepened in the 19th century. The gist of this experience was that the Ottomans of different non-Arab peoples for whom countries were established in the Islamic world, such as the Buwayhids, the Seljuks, the Ayyubids, the Ghurids, the Circassians and the dynasty of Muhammad 'Ali -- except for Muhammad 'Ali -- soon became Arabized, were patterned by Arab morality, mixed with the Arabs and became part of them. However, the Ottomans tried to keep their subjects distinct from themselves and did not try to have them become Turkified, just as they did not agree to become Arabized.

At the end of the 19th century, this spirit, the spirit of confrontation with the Arab element, assumed concrete form in the Young Turk movement which soon ended up in the Turanian movement, which sought to Turkify the Arabs with the objective of imposition of the Turkish language and assimilation into Turkish nationalism. This Turanian movement and its suppression of the national characteristics and features of the Arabs was one of the factors which hastened the Arabs' revolution in the East against the Turks in 1916 (1). The spark of Arab nationalism goes back to the revolution of the Sharif Husayn and his sons. Some people trace it back to 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Kawakibi, who called for the separation of religious authority from politics and the establishment of an Arab religious Caliphate in Mecca. In any event, it is hard to set a specific date for the birth of the Arab nationalist

(1) Muhammad 'Amarah, 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Kawakibi, Complete works, p 324 (The Arab Organization for Studies and Publication, First Printing, 1975).

movement, but what has been established is that the deep experience with civilization which the experiment with the Caliphate or Islam suffered from in the 19th century had severe results, which led to the notion of putting Islam to the side in the Arab context. Syrian elements were dominant in this movement before World War One, then Najib al-Rihani came in 1930 and stated "The Arabs existed before Islam and Christianity and will remain after Islam and Christianity." Then came 'Abdallah al-'Alayili, who defined Arab nationalism through the connection of language, customs and religion, in its capacity as an expression of Arab feeling. He was soon followed by Sati' al-Husri, who emphasized that Arab nationalist ideology was founded on common language and history leading to a common psychological makeup and therefore civilization. While the Arab nationalist movement at its outset was concerned with the Fertile Crescent, Sati' extended its boundaries and brought Egypt within them. The formulation of Arab national ideology was consummated at the hands of Arab Christians, especially the trinity of Akram al-Hawrani, Sati' al-Husri and Michel 'Aflaq. Arab nationalism received its impetus after the signing of the 1936 agreement with Britain at the hands of King Faruq with the appearance of the appeal of the Arab League which the English promoted, and Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir soon seized on it as a political context, but not in an intellectual vessel. However, the nationalist idea, with its historic roots, expressed itself in the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, which Michel 'Aflaq (1) founded with Salah al-Din al-Bitar in 1940.

The Brothers and the Ideology of the Arab Ba'th Party

Arab Unity from Arab Premises

Arab nationalism, to the Ba'thists, is founded on keeping the struggle of Islam from being separated from its natural theater, which is the land of the Arabs, and from its heroes and the people working in it, who are all the Arabs, the idolators of Quraysh who were indispensable when Islam brought about the need of the devout for it, and those who fought the prophet [and] participated in victory as the people who supported him and sided with him (2). The choice of the Arabs to convey the message was due to basic advantages and virtues they contained, and Islam then was an Arab movement, since the language in which it was revealed was the Arabic language, its understanding of things was through an Arab view, the virtues which it enumerated were Arab virtues, apparently or latently, and the flaws it fought were Arab flaws which were in the process of disappearing. Muslims at that time were just new, developed, integrated Arabs (3). We also today give the number of

(1) Michel 'Aflaq, a Syrian of Greek origins and Orthodox by religion, was born in Damascus in 1912 then went to Paris, studied in the Sorbonne and became a Communist, then left that and in 1940 founded the Ba'th Party. In 1946 he issued the magazine AL-BA'TH, in 1947 the first Ba'th conference was held, and in 1950 Akram al-Hawrani's group, which sired the theoretical school, made its appearance.

(2) Michel 'Aflaq, Commemoration of the Arab Prophet, the Arab Institute for Studies and Publication, 1975, pp 12-13.

(3) Op. cit, p 14.

individuals in the nation the name "nationalist" or "patriot," although the nation as a whole should be ethnic. However, we specifically mean, by this term, the group which believed in the cause of its country. In addition, the Muslim is the person in whom the conditions of understanding that this religion represents the leap of Arabhood toward unity have been combined.

Arab Unity from Islamic Premises

The Brothers do not accept this notion, since in effect it means that the Arabs were supreme before the message [of Islam], while the overall approach in Islamic literature is that the Arabs, before the message, were nothing, and means that Arabism, in this form, resembles Nazism, in the sense of the superiority and dominance of race on the basis of racial characteristics and distinctions. The Brothers accept Arabism as a stage of adherence to Islam, and accept that action on behalf of Arabism is action on behalf of Islam and that language has given Islam the characteristics of Arabhood (1). The horizons of the Islamic nation go beyond the boundaries of geographic nationalism and the nationalism of blood to the nationality of lofty principles and belief. Therefore the Brothers think of reviving and supporting Arab unity from Islamic premises.

The Ba'th Party Constitution

The Ba'thists seek to establish a secular state, since to them the state is not to be worshipped. The constitution begins with a foreword which sets out the general context of the party's national thinking on the basis that the Arabs are a political, economic and cultural entity which does not admit of fragmentation and has an immortal mission to define the values of mankind (2).

Economic policy is aimed at the redistribution of wealth, the nationalization of industries, the participation of workers in the management of them, that is, the industries, and the imposition of limits on the ownership of land and industrial ownership (3). In addition, after the Ba'th Party, 'Aflaq's group, took power, it was bruited about that they were atheists (4). In addition, the ideology of the Ba'th gives broad scope to the authority of the state ("There is no room for the topical theory which does not give power true status in the development process and the preservation of sovereignty and the unity of Iraq, in terms of people and land, in permanent, eternal form[") (5). Power, also, has of necessity become restricted to a limited ruling group which is basically supported by the army.

(1) The Collection of Letters, Our Appeal for a new Form, p 81.

(2) Kemal H. Karpat, Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East, p 186.

(3) Op. cit., p 186.

(4) Op. cit., p 186.

(5) Saddam Husayn, One or Two Trenches, The Revolution Press and Publication House.

The Brothers and the Third Theory

The third theory (1) is a name which Col al-Qadhdhafi has given to the group of ideas which the revolution of 1 September 1970 [sic] promoted and under whose guidance it proceeds. The meaning of the third world theory is that it does not consist of Marxism, and its application, or liberalism, and its application, but is something new. This tendency, that is, the Libyan tendency, was basic in the writings of Malik Ibn Yani, Afro-Asian Thought in the Light of the Bandung Conference, Sayyid Qutb, Islam Between Communism and Capitalism and Signposts on the Road, Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr, Our Economy, Our Philosophy, and Mustafa Hamzah, Islamic Civilization, Scientific Rationalism or Citizenship in a Third World. However, these writings concluded with what is known as the "Islamic solution," or Islam as an alternative, while al-Qadhdhafi was distinguished in proceeding from the position of power and change, and the expression "the third theory" cannot be considered an alternative equivalent to what the movement of the Muslim Brothers advocated because the third theory is "a special understanding of Islam." In the Green Book the "solution to the problem of democracy" and the solution to the economic problem also make an appearance. The third theory provoked the adherents of Islam in neglecting the spoken and "stipulative" sayings and doings of the prophet and contenting itself, after the Koran, with the practical sayings and doings of the prophet, on the claim that the first two were subjected to distortion and change. The third theory transcends the entire Islamic heritage and proceeds from a point which is assumed, that there are no detailed, binding rules regarding economics and politics but rather the Koran leads to the creation of a rational production of a platform and psychological approaches which lead to the crystallization of the Muslim's thinking regarding economics and politics (with the exception of course of such things on which there is a categorical stipulation as the tithe). This of course is the subject of argument on the part of the adherents of Islam, who believe that binding rules exist.

The Solution to the Problem of Democracy in the Power of the People

The third theory rejects the formulation of chambers of deputies and therefore Western liberalism, because chambers of deputies are basically established in place of the people, which means that the chambers have become a legal barrier between peoples and the exercise of power. The principle, in the third theory, is "There is no action in place of the people["] (2). The third theory also rejects party rule because the purpose in forming a party is to create an instrument for rule by the people, that is, rule by those who are outside the party, by means of the party, the party is founded basically on a theory of power for control, and therefore "The party represents part of the people, and the sovereignty of the people is indivisible," "The

(1) Although this, according to Prof Fadl's statement, is outside the scope of the period of the research work, 1969, we have cited it so that the features of the Brothers' ideology will be clear in comparison with others. Otherwise, the observation is sound.

(2) Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, The Green Book, Chapter One, printing Martin Bryson, London, pp 6, 7.

party rules in place of the people, and it is correct that there is no action in place of the people." The third theory also rejects the power of class, since the party which is established in the name of the class automatically is transformed into an alternative to the class and the automatic transformation continues until it becomes a successor to the class which is opposed to its own class. The theory also rejects the "referendum" system, because referendums are a distortion of democracy.

The Solution of the People's Conferences and the People's Committees

The solution, in the third theory, lies in the people's conferences as a sole means for people's democracy, since they are a true, direct translation of democracy. First of all, the people are broken down into basic people's conferences and each conference chooses a committee to lead it. Out of the sum total of committees are formed non-basic people's conferences for each region. Then the masses of these basic people's conferences choose people's committees to take the place of the government administration, each facility in the society is then managed by people's committees and the people's committees which run the facilities become responsible before the people's basic conferences, which dictate policy to them and oversee them in regard to performance. In this manner, the administration becomes a property of the people, oversight becomes a property of the people, and thus the wornout definition of democracy which says "democracy is the people's oversight of the government" is abolished, to be replaced by the correct definition, which is "democracy is the people's oversight of itself," and power ends up in the general people's conference, where the leaders of the people's conferences, the leaders of the people's committees and the leaders of the unions and professional federations meet. The conference is held annually (1).

The Law of the Society

The true law of any society is customary usage or religion. Customary usage consists more or less of penalties and imposes moral, non-material penalties which are suitable for man. Religion contains and assimilates usage; most penalties in religion are deferred and most of its rulings are severe reprimands, expressions of guidance and answers to questions. This is the law most in keeping with respect for mankind (2).

The Press

A people's committee consisting of all the various classes of the society, that is, the federation of workers, the federation of women, the federation of students, the federation of peasants, the federation of professionals and so forth, puts out the press; ordinary individuals do not have the right to own any private means of publication or information. This is true democracy from the theoretical standpoint. From the realistic standpoint, the stronger always rule, that is, the weaker party in the society is the one that is ruled (3).

(1) Op. cit., pp 31-32.

(2) Op. cit., p 39.

(3) Op. cit., p 47.

Evaluation

The Brothers might not be faced with adopting the system of people's conferences (1), but to consider the system of conferences a solution to the political problem is something which cannot be supported by proper vision, since the masses' power ultimately assumes some form of delegation. In spirit, the leadership of conferences meets the criteria of government by proxy though differing in form. The issue of choosing the management of government facilities through people's conferences is a revolution in management and has perhaps been appropriate for the simple Libyan society; as for societies with deep traditions of civil and administrative service which are founded on personal bases and academic qualification, this pattern of "administrative rationalism" constitutes a great risk. In any event, it is an experiment which has entered history, and its future will depend on its success.

The Economic Problem

"The problem of producers has not been solved and they still are wage-earners, although the conditions of ownership have moved from the far right to the far left["] (2). ["]No matter how wage-earners' wages may improve, they are a kind of slave. The final solution is to eliminate wages, liberate man from servitude to them and go back to the natural rules which defined the relationship before the appearance of classes, different forms of government and secular legislation["] (3). ["]Natural laws have produced a natural socialism founded on equality among the economic factors of production and have realized roughly equal consumption of production from nature among individuals. The problem therefore lies not in the distribution of production but the method of production itself. A productive industrial establishment is based on materials of production, manufacturing equipment and workers, and these three elements are essential to the production process; therefore, production is broken down into three shares, and each of the elements of production has a share["] (4).

Criticism

However, are these shares distributed equally, distributed on some basis which will guarantee permanence for the installation and abundance for the workers that will satisfy people's needs, or just distributed on a basis of equality of shares?

(1) The Brothers supported al-Qadhdhafi's efforts in propagating the Arabic language, establishing Islamic centers in Africa, combatting colonialism, supporting the movements of Islamic minorities and promoting the use of arms, but opposed him for his dictatorial nature and dominance, his perverse views and his pursuit of the technique of physical liquidation of people who opposed him in thought and action.

(2) Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, Chapter Two, Solution of the Economic Problem.

(3) Op. cit., p 7.

(4) Op. cit., p 13.

The theory concludes that all the productive operations of the socialist system are subjected by analogy to these natural rules, and therefore:

1. Homes belong to those who reside in them, and therefore residents own their own residences.
2. There are no wage-earners in the socialist society, but rather partners. Your livelihood is your own personal property which you administer yourself within the limits of satisfying your need, or you are one of the basic elements sharing in production, and not its wages, in exchange for the production of anything, whatever it may be.
3. Transportation will not be the property of other persons, and in the socialist society it is not permissible for people or any other body to own personal means of transportation with the goal of renting them out.
4. The land is not anyone's property, but everyone has the right to use it within the limits of his own effort without using anyone else, with or without wages, and within the limits of satisfying his needs for the extent of his life and the life of his heirs (1).

People in the new society work for themselves to ensure their material needs.

It is not permissible in the new socialist society to make distinctions in the wealth of individuals except in the case of people who perform a public service and to whom the society allocates a specific share of the wealth equivalent to that service.

The final step is the attainment, by the new socialist society, of the stage where profit and money disappear by converting the society into a totally productive one and having production reach the point where it satisfies the material needs of the individuals of the society (2). The general tendency, among the Brothers, is to reject intellectual tutelage, because Islam is founded on consultation, except with regard to a command of the law of Islam on which there is an explicit stipulation. As you will see, the third theory is just individual theorizing and not a working paper for a chamber of deputies or people's conference. Therefore, it is absolutely not binding; there is no objection [to it] as individual theorizing, but as a working paper, it is not [acceptable]. Even as individual theorizing, while it ultimately reaches some conclusions of Marxist thought, it lacks its analytical platform and comprehensive historic vision and it, that is, the Green Book, more closely resembles reports and resolutions, and this makes its value arise from its being issued by authority (3). The vision of the writer, that

(1) Op. cit., pp 16, 17, 18.

(2) Op. cit., p 26.

(3) Of course it is nonsense for a person to claim that he has the power to solve man's cultural, economic and political problems, since the course of time brings about discoveries which even outstrip theories in the area of pure sciences; therefore, we find that modifications have been introduced into many of the theories of Newton and Einstein, so what about views in the multifaceted areas of human issues?

is, al-Qadhdhafi, has also gone totally beyond the statements of religious thinking regarding the issues of wages and profit, and that makes it offend the spirit of religious theorizing in accordance with the most generous standards. That does not of necessity mean that it violates the provisions of religion, but of course any provision, in order to be sound, must start with proper premises and end up with conclusions, in accordance with a theoretical platform; otherwise, how many topical, nice ideas there are!

There is a convergence between the general orientation of the third theory and the orientations of the Islamic Society which split off from the Brothers in 1954 and ended up with the format of the Islamic Socialist [Party], since the society's constitution for 1955 stipulates the elimination of feudalism and the transfer of the ownership of the land in its entirety and the wealth which contains it to the ownership of the society and its distribution in accordance with the rule "The land to those who work it" (1).

The Islamic Society (2) does not believe in these parties or liberal systems, because they derive their philosophy from "class" thinking which enables a specific class of owners of capital and land and religious reaction to control power (3).

Chapter Four

Section One

The Muslim Brothers and the Issue of Consultation

The issue of decisionmaking, participation in it, mutual satisfaction over the means by which decisions are issued, commitment to decisions and the collective quest for the common goals the decisions were made to reach are problems which have preoccupied human societies in the various stages of their development. However, what has been established is that the collective contract of any group is founded on a group of concessions which the individuals of the group offer in the interests of the group. Thus the collective contract is an attempt to balance the value of freedom with the means for attaining the goals of the society.

Sudanese society did not inherit a local domestic, regional or historical state of affairs or even points of departure for endeavors of political

(1) See the constitution of the Islamic League (Paragraph D). A copy exists in the Institute of Afro-Asian Studies.

(2) Op. cit.

(3) See the Islamic Society, Appeal and Platform, the Separation of the Group and Parties (there is a copy in the library of the African Studies Institute). Babakr Karrar, Wad Nasir al-Sayyid and 'Abdallah Zakariyah had strong ties with Mu'ammad al-Qadhdhafi, and it has been established that they influenced his ideas. Indeed, Dr Nasir al-Sayyid, as he mentioned to me, worked to translate some chapters of the Green Book into the English language.

thought which would deal with the issue of consultation, since relationships in Sudanese society were founded on the power and tyranny of rulers, as in the Turkish [era], on the aloofness and infallibility of the ruler, as with the al-Mahdists, on the marginalization of the entire society with its culture, and the imposition of tutelage on it, as happened at the hands of the colonialists, on the acquisition of power through fraudulent surface democracy, as was the case in the days of the parties, or on the total monopoly of the right of political action by military figures, as happens when the army takes power. For a period of time the movement of society also continued to be condemned to the inhibition on the people at the base through factional, racial or tribal loyalty, and not even the Communist Party, as a modern party seeking to express the interests of the new class, the class of educated people in particular, escaped the trap of centralism of decision-making, which subjected it to rifts and internal erosion and made it easy to crush and destroy it.

The Sudanese Islamic movement found nothing, even in the actual conditions of Islamic history in the period after the caliphs, that would be of assistance to it regarding the subject of consultation, since the terrible power struggle which went on among Muslims aborted and killed the jurisprudence of consultation in its early stages. Then Islamic jurisprudence was totally silent about this important, vital value which expresses the notion of the freedom which is the object of concern, and that resulted in the paralysis of the intellectual movement, the stagnation of society and the decline of civilization. To add to the intensity of this historic social predicament, the Brothers' movement grew up in the Sudan, which is part of the third world and is under the shelter of dictatorships and in which political relations are founded on compulsion and dominance.

However, in general the Sudanese Muslim Brothers' movement enjoyed a climate of consultation, attempts to devise jurisprudence and acceptable circumstances for consultation, since, in theory, all the movement's leadership believes that the jurisprudence of the group and the command is founded on the notion of the holy verse "And order them to consultation among themselves," putting consultation in the list of features of worship, such as prayer and the fast. In addition, consultation, within the organization, remained a basic principle over which argument did not take place. Perhaps the original cause of that was the feeling of equality and parity among the founders of the movement, to the point where no head made his appearance in the movement in its earliest days until Babakr Karrar came to prominence. In addition the movement could decline and rise, become isolated and expand, dismiss and incorporate, and that would not have an effect on the soundness of the movement. The movement also managed to transcend all attempts at polarization and division through open dialogue, general conferences and self-criticism. The movement also succeeded in defining its historic options in accordance with consultative criteria, as happened regarding the method of its choice of title, the formulations of its action and its relations with similar Islamic movements.

In circles of the movement, broad controversy and debate revolved about the powers of the commander of the group in 1960-61, after the military coup in which al-Rashid al-Tahir had taken part without consulting with the

organization's agencies. Al-Rashid was criticized, and that brought on him the loss of his status as general observer of the Muslim Brothers. After that, the authority to issue decrees of a specific nature, that is, decrees which would create a basic change in the course of the movement, was transferred to the agencies.

The Sudanese movement was also distinguished from others similar to it in that the election of its commander and parallel agencies was tied to a specific time restriction. The bills also specified the method of election and dismissal, while similar movements were based on the notion of pledging allegiance to the guide for life. In practice, in the periods of greatest political harrassment, the movement did not deviate from this principle, and there were substantial opportunities for consultation at the levels of the people at the base and the leadership. However, this distinction raises an important, curious question on whether the prevailing literature of consultation, which the movement's internal bills and legislation expressed, was a result of an understanding of Islam and an achievement in Islamic law, or whether the membership had been inspired to it through the atmosphere of liberal culture on which its leaders had been nursed in the university.

The Brothers dealt with two types of consultation, consultation by bill and consultation by agency. Theoretically the highest agency of consultation is the general conference, but in practice its powers were transferred to the consultative council, which became unlimited in its powers, according to bill. Consultation within the leadership also became prominent during exceptional circumstances, since that was mandatory in areas where organizational gains could not be realized through consultation by bill, due to the circumstances of security and secrecy and the type of decision. However, what governed this pattern of consultation was that the principles were coordinated and never replaced one another and that this type of consultation was not an alternative to consultation by bill; in addition, problems arose in the nature of the consultation of leadership, since that was hard to define accurately by objective criteria, and the intrinsic characteristics of the leader -- the extent of his fear of God, his knowledge of the organizational leaders, his learning, his command of jurisprudence, and his nature, whether collective or individual -- entered into them. In summary, the traditions of the movement dictated official consultation, which would take place by means of the agencies, and unofficial consultation, whose limits were recognized and which would take place under exceptional circumstances in accordance with the evaluations of the higher leadership pursuing the historic process in the movement and stressing consultation. However, a difference arose between consultation as a notion and value and consultation as a culture and practical endeavor. The explanation for that is that some Brothers were excessively trusting in their appreciation of the commander's evaluations and analysis of matters, and exceptional circumstances led to the concealment of much information from the groups at the base. Successful consultation demands that all parties be apprised of the details of what is going on. Some Brothers also abstained from exercising their rights to consultation, because they did not have a sense of consultation as a religious commitment and basic intellectual value, due to the weakness of their commitment and the mediocrity of their learning, and this inhibited the progress of the exercise of consultation.

In general, the literature of consultation permeated the thinking and psychology of the members of the group to the point where consultation was brought back in exchange for obedience sometimes and became prominent as a principle at other times. Consultation also continued to be prominent as a basic value in every organizational review which was made. The consultation which is meant is a religious obligation and not democracy, even if a correspondence is to be found in form and in particulars. The system of consultation is still founded on the notion of the majority, and initiatives for representing the views of sectors, for instance women, students and workers, did not become prominent within the organization.

The issue of consultation needs to progress and be asserted further in practice and requires further individual thought in the context of thinking and theorizing so that consultative values may mature within the movement, so that the consciousness of the base regarding the literature of consultation may progress and so that consultation may return as a genuine form of conduct, education, compulsion, means for increasing involvement with the issues that have been raised and form for imparting legitimacy by blessing the recommendations propounded and solving the problems which arise. The assertion of the morality of consultation, so that it will be brought back as a trait on which people's spirits are imprinted, is a necessity for a movement which is trying to attain political power and create a historic shift from the circumstances of a movement to international functions. Proficiency and expertise in consultation will fully contribute to easing the assertion of emphasis on consultation as a religious value and as a right of the entire Sudanese nation, lest consultation once again be confined to the power of a party, vanguard or leader, opening up loopholes and increasing the opportunities for obliterating consultation under the circumstances of gaining a share of power. At that time the value of consultation among Brothers will become manifest, whether it is a religious value that is basic to the thinking of the Brothers or the Brothers can transcend the social legacy and accumulated burdens which have inhibited the value of consultation. To the extent that the Brothers respond to that question, their participation in the movement of promoting the Islamic resurgence and enriching the Sudanese experience will be defined, and their status in the context of modernization and renovation will be defined as a result.

Section Two

Conclusion

One aspect of Islamic action which is assumed is that the Islamic movement's acquisition of a share of power is a necessity for transforming the abstract values of religion from general principles to programs and aspirations sufficient to solve the problems of Sudanese society and responding to the call for civilization, culture and the ability to reply to the challenge of development and the forward leap of technology.

In spite of the severity of the blows of economic pressures which normally are accompanied by social transformations, there is readiness in the society to accept the powers of the Islamic movement and the overall tendency of the movement of society is inspired to this in its spontaneous civilization,

which is embodied in the spread of the movement of building and repairing mosques, the regular holding of collective prayers at worksites, increasing receptivity toward religious books, the increased broadcasting of religious programs via the media, the raising of the two slogans of the Arabization of education and the codification of Islamic law, a diminution of taverns and night clubs and the slackening of enthusiasm for slogans of "Westernization," be they Marxist or liberal.

However, the predisposition of the society might be favorable but a readiness for movement might not exist. In addition, the circumstances might reach fruition but then the leadership might not exist. The requisite leadership is that which has the ability to respond to the requirements of the Sudan of tomorrow, one of whose specifications is the completion of the first line of the industrial resurgence and the development of its Islamic African personality through open bridges to Arabhood. Such a Sudan must play a distinctive role in the African continent which will rid it of the characterization "sick man of Africa." The desired role is not that of the middleman -- the status of the Sudan in its best case -- but the role of the thermal reactor which will impart to Africa the tinge of unity and faith.

Unless that is carried out, Sudan will need leadership in which persistence and the ability to respond to the demands of building the Islamic African state will exist in accordance with five keys which might direct the affairs of the people who have become cognizant of them. Viewing the Islamic movement through these keys may be of help in searching for the future of its status.

1 [sic]. The ability to lead cultural and political development in the intellectual and applied contexts. The attempt to analyze the future of culture in the Sudan may perhaps reveal that the instinct for leadership in the Brothers' movement is greater than others. Moderation is represented within it and stagnation and doubt about everything that is new has not progressed within it, as in the case of the proponents of isolation among Muslims who drove away the search for sustenance in their interpretation of the stipulation "Believe only in the people who have followed your religion" to a point which brought them to appeal for the boycott of international organizations on the argument that they were not founded on an Islamic basis, beginning with the Arab League and ending with foreign trade (1). Nor did the motivation of renovation and modernization bring them to the point reached by some societies, such as the movement of Mahmmud Muhammad Taha (the Republican Brothers), that of ruling Islamic law totally out of their calculations. It appears that the Islamic movement is slated to absorb and attract the new generation of children of the Partisans in the west and central Sudan. The

(1) See the final article, 182, of the draft constitution of the Islamic state of the Islamic Liberation Party, which stipulates that "The government may not take part in organizations which are founded on bases other than Islam or apply provisions other than those of Islam, such as international organizations like the Organizations of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and regional organizations such as the Arab League and the Arab Development Organization."

Partisans' old organization has lost its allure and no longer responds to the latent needs of valor through strength in religious upbringing, as embodied by the personality of al-Mahdi, in a modern framework. In addition, the new generation of the children of the Partisans is not compatible with the political institution which has continued to politicize, and gain from the politicization of, what is left of the Partisans' movement, that is, the al-Ummah Party, which has picked the fruit of the modern Partisans' movement and most of whose leaders have been secularists who wanted the movement to be secular and liberated and totally turned away from the notion of the religious state while they were at the peak of their political glory. The image of al-Mahdi is still the object of the Partisans' awe and makeup. The Islamic movement (the Muslim Brothers) is an attempt to embody a modern movement of religious devotion and an attempt to create a successful Islamic revolutionary plan. Therefore it has been tied in with the causes which will lead these generations to express their movement within the Islamic movement. In addition, the Sudanese Islamic movement is qualified to absorb the other people of the Sufic orders, if these no longer satisfy the new generation's needs for modern religious expression. All in all, one can say that the Brothers' movement is prepared to absorb the movement of religious people who want the movement to be an Islamic one.

One cannot ignore the Egyptian role in the Sudan, since Egypt is one of the keys to the Sudanese question. Egypt the nation, for a period of time, has continued to rely on the traditional forces (the al-Khatmiyah and the political societies derived from it, the Democratic People's Party for example) and the star of these entities is inevitably in the descendant. In addition, reliance on officers' movements is not of much use as far as the issue of the future of cultural interrelations between Egypt and the Sudan goes, especially since they are both partners in the struggles over the future of Arabhood and Islam in various areas of the Sudan in particular and Africa in general. The Muslim Brothers' organization may be more prepared than others to bear the concerns of cultural interrelations founded on Arabhood and Islam. Indeed, the greatest effect of the Egypt of the revolution on Sudanese political thinking is to be found in the organization of the Muslim Brothers. Therefore, the interests of Islam and Arabhood require an understanding by Egypt the nation of the motive forces of the movement, so that it will once again be capable of picking the fruits of Egypt the revolution.

The ability to create a new situation for Islam in the south may to a large extent define the status of the Islamic movement in the context of modernization and the creation of the new Sudan. The effect of the Islamic movement in the south may alter its capabilities for political sovereignty. The subject of politics in the Sudan is dependent on a delicate balance between the north and the south. The future of the south cannot be calculated in accordance with what exists, since that is the offspring of exceptional circumstances, as the south has not been acquainted with the shining face of Islam but opened itself up, rather, to the Islam of the "slave traders" who rushed into a world totally devoid of any civilized mission. I am certain that it is in the power of Islam to transcend the generation which the circumstances of the civil war forged, that it is in the power of Islam to win over this generation in spite of the bitterness and pain that is in its spirits, and that Islam has the ability to create a new generation devoid of complexes.

There is nothing to prevent this generation from expressing its progress in civilization through an Islam complementing the Islam of the north and giving it its African dimension. The conclusion is that the keys to the south are still in the realm of possibility.

What is left? The question of the army in the era of the loss of Palestine and 'Abd-al-Nasir's cry "A right which is not supported by force is a lost right." Can the Islamic movement be corrected from outside the general course of the nurturing of the army, from the context of secularism to Islam? Can the Islamic movement escape the fate which has accompanied many Islamic movements, in what is known as the phenomenon of "integration and corrosion," where as soon as the movement reaches its peak, it starts to collapse because of the blows the military institution directs toward it, along with the circumstances of internal corrosion?

I am certain that that is possible, since secularism, in the modern Sudanese army, has recent roots and is the offspring of 1925, when the Sudan Defense Force was established. In addition, the issue of the War College was organized in 1948, and the students of the faculty, the backbone of the movement of the army, are, ultimately, the outcome of the tendencies of the prevailing thought in the schools, whose general trend is Islamic.

We have said that a readiness may exist within the society. At that point the determination of the movement is not proper and the fitness for command does not exist, for the matter is up to God first and last, and God's tribulations will prove the feasibility of the Brothers' readiness to carry out a more distinctive role in reformulating Sudanese man.

Praise be to God, first and last.

Hasan Makki Muhammad Ahmad.

Chapter Five

Documents

The First Document, Concerning the Response to the Program and Intellectual Platform of the Islamic Society

In the name of God, the most merciful and all compassionate:

Brother Muhamad al-Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir:

Warm greetings:

Our brother 'Umar Bakhit set out this letter, then our brother al-Turabi reviewed it. It is of the utmost importance since it deals with an important issue which is relevant now. Since printing it on the Cultural Club's machine will cost much effort and money, we have considered it appropriate to proceed to print it in the press and offer it for sale.

We hope that you will be able to review it before printing at the soonest opportunity. We know that your time is scarce, but it is a necessity which might not allow for precautions.

Your brother,

Daf'allah.

In the name of God, the most merciful and all compassionate

1. Islamic Studies

Introduction

In the era of the modern Islamic resurgence, notions have newly arisen in the field of politics, economics and society which have attracted the attention of the Muslims. Some intellectuals who are interested in Islamic issues have exerted successful efforts to express the Islamic viewpoint regarding these notions. Some observations in this regard have suggested themselves to us which we have considered it proper to record in these chapters; perhaps this will be of service to Islam and the Muslims. In these chapters we will deal with some of these notions which concern the minds of Muslims at the present time, especially notions which have a relationship to economic principles. We have been concerned that the material of this research be derived from the heart of Islamic teachings, as stated in the holy Koran and the pure sayings and doings of the prophet. We ask God to give us success with respect to that which contains benefit.

In the name of God, the most merciful and all compassionate

The Economic Problem in the View of Islam

There is no doubt that some Muslims, especially the educated ones, have been affected by the prevailing intellectual trends in the world of today. These are Western trends which came into the Islamic East in the cavalcade of European civilization which started to invade the Arab and Islamic world at the dawn of the 19th century. Among these views by which some Muslims have been influenced are those connected to the explanation of the phenomenon of economic hardship and the truth concerning its source, a phenomenon which is embodied in greed, strife and man's exploitation of his fellow man. One of the most prominent of the modernistic thinkers who have tried to explain this phenomenon and link it to scientific laws to which existence is subject is the famous economic scholar Karl Marx (1818-1883). Marx views phenomena, whether they be social, economic or natural, only from the angle of "dialectical materialism" and "historic materialism;" that is, his interpretation of every phenomenon is a materialistic one, because "dialectical materialism" makes the basis of existence and other spiritual or moral values besides that a reflection of the material, not truths which are independent of it (1). One should not be amazed when we see Marx explaining the phenomenon of economic hardship, from which mankind has suffered greatly, as the

(1) Karl Marx, Afterword to the Second German Edition of Capital, Vol. 1.

product of a disruption in the distribution of wealth and consequently the offspring of individual ownership, from which he concluded that the requisite economic stability will be realized only if individual ownership is eliminated and the means of production are converted to the property of the state. There is no doubt that this thinking represents the extremist materialist ideology which is the most conspicuous characteristic of Marxism.

Islam attributes the causes of hardship, whether it be economic or non-economic, to things that are more profound than material factors, because these factors which Marx is talking about, such as the poor distribution of wealth and the disruption of production, themselves need explanation in Islam's view! Therefore Islam attributes the causes of happiness and hardship in this life not to direct material factors but to the latent ailment behind material phenomena, which, in the view of Islam, is the issue of faith in or renunciation of God. The Koran is full of examples which portray to us the holy war of prophets and proselytizers and the obstinacy they encountered in order to make their nations happy by guiding them along the road to devotion which will strip mankind of fear and purify it of injustice and enmity. Many verses of the Koran also explicitly point out that the happiness of man and facilitation of means of a livelihood for him are contingent on his responding to God's call: "And whoever puts his trust in God he will make a way out for him and will provide for him from whence he never reckoned" "Why was there never a city that believed, and its belief profited it? Except the people of Jonah: when they believed, we removed from them the chastisement of degradation and gave them enjoyment for a while" "And I said, ask your lord for forgiveness for he is all-forgiving and he will loose heaven upon you in torrents, and will provide you with wealth and sons, and will make gardens and rivers for you" "Had they (that is, the people of the book) performed the Old Testament and the New Testament and what was revealed to them from their lord, they would have eaten both what was above them and what was beneath their feet." Just as God promised his devout worshippers to make it easy to earn a livelihood, he threatened the unbelieving infidels with impoverishment, misery and hardship: "But whoever turns away from my remembrance, his life shall be a life of narrowness and we will raise him blind on the day of judgment" "Yet had the people of the cities believed and been godfearing, we would have opened upon them blessings from heaven and earth, but they lied, and we seized them for what they had earned" "God has given an example: a city that was secure, at rest, its provision coming to it comfortably from every place, then it renounced the blessings of God; so God let it taste the garment of hunger and fear for what they were doing." Some verses point out that the appeal to devotion is always accompanied by the appeal to justice and that turning away from devotion is accompanied by arrogance and insistence on tyranny, as stated in his almighty statement: "Be not like those who went forth from their homes swaggering boastfully, to show off before men, and closing off God's way; God is versed in the things they do," in his almighty statement: "Noah said, My lord, they have rebelled against me and followed the one whose wealth and children increase him only in loss," and in his almighty statement: "And to Midian their brother Shuaib, he said, My people, worship God, you have no other god than he, and do not be slight with the measure and the balance, and do not be stingy with people's goods, and do not do mischief in the land, working corruption." The sum total of what we can deduce from these verses is that injustice which

necessitates God's anger has no existence in the society which truly believes in God; in such a devout society, the motives of greed among the rich disappear and the motives for revolution and vengeance are eliminated among the poor, because the rich feel God's oversight and are not unjust or tyrannical and the poor receive their rights in full and are not discontent. Therefore, almighty glorious God has made people who pray into people who are not irritated if evil touches them and do not prohibit God's right if good befalls them: "Man was created fretful, when evil visits him, impatient, when good visits him, grudging, save those that pray."

It is clear from the foregoing that the nation's enjoyment of a pleasant living and the good things that have been permitted in order that every person in it may enjoy a suitable standard of living is realized if it believes in God, yields to his orders and avoids what he has prohibited, except in special cases in which the devout are accursed by discomfort in making a living, so that God may rectify what is in their heart. We also deduce from that that the source of injustice and exploitation is not the poor distribution of wealth, although these might be direct causes, but that its source, rather, is apostasy and the renunciation of God's blessings, except in special cases in which almighty glorious God attracts the disbelieving infidel with easy living and abundance of livelihood in order to dictate to him in his sin, as said in his almighty statement: "Let it not delude you that the unbelievers go to and fro in the land; a little enjoyment, then their refuge is hell -- an evil cradling!" or in his almighty statement "Do not reckon that God is ignorant of what the evildoers do; he is only deferring them to a day in which eyes shall stare."

If we want to deal with economic corruption, we first must have a feeling for the issue of faith, so that we can develop the motives of goodness in the spirit of man and block off the road to evil intentions. This can happen only if we turn toward God with the purification and cleansing of hearts and keep them remote from the abysses of apostasy and atheism.

We have described the view of Islam regarding the economic problem and its explanation of the phenomenon of hardship and tyranny. We will now move on to consider how Islam has confronted economic life and how the most proper distribution of wealth will protect the Muslim's belief from the strife of blatant wealth and the outrage of wretched poverty, in order to guarantee Muslim society a life dominated by harmony and Islam, not struggle and class war.

Individual Ownership

No one will argue that Islam has acknowledged the right to ownership, having provided a proper climate of faith which domesticates the spirit, controls it in its conduct and prevents it from succumbing to injustice, which God has forbidden. The items of proof of the grant of permission to the right of ownership are numerous. Of that we might mention, first of all, that God almighty has mentioned in his book that people have a right to wealth, such as his almighty statement: "Approach not the property of the orphan," "Do not give to fools their property," and so forth. Secondly, Islam has praised people who possessed wealth and acted benevolently with it; the prophet

said, "Yes, good wealth for the good man," and his companions told him, "The forgotten people have taken wages." God praised people who spend and fight on behalf of God in many verses of the Koran which there is no need to mention. Third, Islam prohibits violation of the sanctity of wealth that is owned and severs the hand of the thief; almighty God says, "Consume not your goods between you in vanity." The prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, said, "Whoever dies without his wealth is a martyr." Fourth, God stipulated certain claims on wealth, such as the tithe and obligatory spending, and urged spending on behalf of God; the almighty said "And the beggar and the outcast had a share in their wealth" "Take alms from their wealth" "Struggle for the sake of God with your wealth and your spirits."

Fifth, Islam has suspended many provisions on individual ownership, as was stated in the verses on trusteeship, religion, inheritance and sales. From the foregoing verses, the following facts are established:

1. That ownership of wealth is permitted in principle in Islam, although there are provisions on the nature of individual ownership, its restrictions and rights which are obligatory and recommended regarding wealth, which we will subsequently address ourselves to. The word wealth includes:

1. Cash. The ownership of this is established by the many verses above. The prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, says: "There are no less than five notes of the note of alms." In accordance with the rules of language in this stipulation, it is apparent that it is permitted to own gold and that it is obligatory to pay tithes from it if it reaches a specific share.

2. Other minerals. Although the most appropriate statement here is the statement of Malik, that it is the property of the state wherever it exists, the imam can give it out in fief to whoever owns it as private ownership. The prophet of God, on whom be God's prayers and peace, gave the minerals of the tribe out in fief to Balal Ibn al-Harith al-Muzani.

3. Land. Here we can cite two items of evidence in addition to the foregoing verses, first of which is the true prophetic tradition "Whoever has land, let him farm it or give it to his brother; if he refuses, let his land be taken." The second is that the prophet gave out land in fief to some of his companions, and they owned it. Later we will review the provisions on land in detail.

2. The Muslim is permitted to own property which will meet his material needs and he may also own property which is surplus to that. The prophetic tradition "Whoever has land, let him farm it or give it to his brother; if he refuses, let his land be taken" was cited above. That is surplus in land. As for wealth, the proof of that issue is clear in the many verses which appear regarding the spending of donations, obligatory spending, debts, trusteeship and sales. Doubt might be raised regarding the view of our master Abu Dhurr regarding the verse "Those who amass a treasure of gold and silver and do not spend it for the sake of God, give them the good tidings of a painful torture, the day they shall be heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads, sides and backs will be branded with it: 'This is the thing you have amassed as a treasure for yourselves -- taste what you have

amassed.'" This verse does not prohibit the ownership of what is surplus to expenditures, but it conjures up this serious threat in the case of two things which are connected to one another in a manner where if one is negated the threat will disappear. They are first of all the amassing of treasure and second the failure to spend on behalf of God. If the Muslim has a surplus which he retains but spends from it on God's behalf, the threat will not affect him, because that surplus is not to be considered a forbidden treasure. The word "for yourselves" in his almighty statement "this is the thing you have amassed as a treasure for yourselves" proves that the threat concerns money which has been amassed for oneself only, not the expenses which are made from it on God's behalf. In summary, the Muslim may own something surplus to his material expenditures but he has a religious obligation to spend from that on God's behalf and perform what is due God.

3. In Muslim society it is permitted for people to be different with respect to their livelihoods and possessions, as a consequence of the differences among them regarding effort or because that was God's will for the sake of an idea other than a penalty for effort, for instance when a devout person who exercises independent thinking is poor, in order that that will put him to the test, or a dissolute and weak person is rich so that that will help him and win him over. The Islamic verses are specific and talk about the rich and the poor in Islamic society (there is no need to mention them, because they are well known to the people who look in the holy book). The existence of wealth and poverty with respect to money is not a fault in Islamic society, for the following reasons:

First, because the value and criterion of distinctiveness in this society is not the abundance of wealth, as in the capitalist countries, or in status and power, as in the Communist countries, but rather in piety, as the prophet of God says, and the rich person, in the view of society, does not have preference over the poor person.

Second, Islamic society is free in its conscience, and the individuals in it do not revere rich people or rulers and do not covet their wealth, because they direct covetousness, reverence, fear and hope to God alone, and the rich and the rulers do not have the scope for dominance and usuriousness in Islamic society.

Third, the bond of belief in this society draws the small and the large, the red and the black and the rich and the poor close to one another, because Islam is the purification of the spirits of the rich from injustice and the spirits of the poor from rancor and jealousy and it joins them together in a firm enclosure of brotherhood in God, after which there is no room for what they call "the class struggle." However, Islam preserves this difference in sustenance within limits to which we will address ourselves later.

4. A Muslim cannot claim that the nature of individual ownership in Islam is one of consumption or production. We will later address ourselves to material which will refute that suspicion.

First: Since it is possible to own land and mines, as stated above, it is permitted to own the element of nature and mobilize it on behalf of the

interests of individuals. In addition, the element of labor is a part of its owner and he cannot be deprived of it, nor may it be removed from him. Out of the union of labor with the element of nature, the third of the elements of production is produced, which is capital. As long as the first two elements can be owned, then also likewise it is possible that productive capital can be owned as private property.

Second, the stipulations of the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet permit people to exploit their property. Almighty God said, "God has permitted selling." The companions and the other Muslims, since the era of the prophet, have been engaged in commerce, and the ownership of capital in commerce is undoubtedly productive (will anyone dare to forbid what God has permitted?).

Third, the stipulations made regarding the treatment of workers and payment of their rights in full to them prove that it is permissible for the Muslim to seek the aid of workers in satisfying his needs and using his money. These include the prophet's statement "The worker should be paid his wage if he completes his work" and his statement on the use of wage-earners, to the point where a wage manifests itself to him, at which point the owner of the money will be buying their efforts with the wages he pays them. Islam does not stipulate that all man's earnings be by his own direct mechanical efforts. The prophetic statement "The son of man has not eaten food better than the labor of his own hand" does not mean that the Muslim must make bread, sow corn and vegetables and weave clothing by himself; rather, it means that the Muslim lives off the output of his efforts, and these efforts follow that. The [typographical error] is in its being a permissible gain from the labor of man. Our proof of what we have stated above is twofold:

1. First of all, the lawfulness of contracts of speculation and partnership. These are contracts which existed in the pre-Islamic era, Muslims acknowledged them, and the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, put them into effect, regarding what Hakim Ibn Hazam related and 'Ali, Ibn Mas'ud, 'Umar, Ibn 'Abbas and the other companions and Muslims after them carried out. This contract may be summarized in your giving a specific person a specific portion of capital, with which he will be hired, with the profit to be between the two of you, if it makes a profit, and, if not, the loss to be sustained by the capital. This contract is a lawful one, one of the means of earning through the labor of others while being subjected to profit and loss. Corporations are of this type.

2. Second, the lawfulness of the contract to farm. The prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, gave Khaybar to the Jews in segments, provided that they work it adequately. That was in the era of Abu Bakr and at the outset in the Caliphate of 'Umar. Al-Bukhari and Muslim related from Anas that when the people in flight from Mecca came upon Medina and had nothing in their hands, the partisans owned land and real estate and shared with the people in flight on a basis of giving them half the yield of their property every year and their performing the work and effort for them adequately. This treatment for which Islam praised the partisans was the exploitation of money through the efforts of the persons in flight, on a basis of the splitting of profits.

From this, it is clear that Islam allows people to use their money with the efforts of others, on condition that they provide them with what these efforts equitably entitle them to, and that the owner of the capital be subjected to profit and loss; otherwise, the situation will either be ruled to be "the theft of the workers' efforts" by failing to pay them what they are entitled to in full, their mistreatment, or procrastination in their regard, which is going to excess in using the efforts of others. If all the profits which create, for the capital, through the efforts of the workers, rights for the workers, and the failure to give to them for that is injustice and exploitation, we can condemn many of the actions of the companions in the era of the prophet, which were known to him, and after him, and some of the actions of the prophet himself, as injustice and exploitation; however, the prophet and his companions are innocent of that. Rather, Islam has permitted the owner of capital or the land and the worker to share in the profit in accordance with the stipulations of the agreement which must be issued by choice and free of coercion.

Here we must point two things out to the people who want to storm the gates of Islamic jurisprudence. First is the avoidance of imported expressions on injustice which are contrary to Islam, such as prohibiting exploitation and "ownership is consumption, not production." These are not compatible with Islamic contexts.

The second is the avoidance of the pursuit of general rules which we set out by our own individual theorizing and caprice, such as the famous rule "There is no earning without mechanical work." The continued application of these rules might finally clash with the stipulations of the Koran to the point where the provisions of Islam will not assume the form of traditional provisions. The prophet forbade that; the proper method is for us to sketch out the rule after referring to all the stipulations and peripheral provisions and not sketch them out in a manner which we consider to be the spirit of Islam but is only caprice which turns one away from God's path.

There are corrections with respect to the granting of permission to the right of individual ownership which must be mentioned here:

1. The nature of ownership in Islam is that all wealth, including land, minerals and so forth, belong to God and that people are agents and successors to that: ["]And God owns that which is in the heavens and earth" "And give them of God's wealth which he has given you." This notion leads to the conclusion:

First, that wealth is one among God's other blessings, such as intelligence, the senses and vigor, which God has granted to people in order to test them with respect to that which he has given them. It is not proof of God's preference or love for people who have money: rather, it is a test of the rich person, that he should give and be thankful, and of the poor, deprived person, that he should be forbearing. God might give it to the creature which is most odious to him, in enticement and hope.

Second, man is an agent for wealth, and his disposition of it is limited to the will of the one making the authorization: man cannot exceed these

limits, and the Muslim is not free in disposing of his wealth, because that is not pure ownership, and he must commit himself to the teachings of Islam regarding its acquisition, spending and use.

2. There must be no blatant differences in the distribution of wealth, out of accommodation to the verse "so that it may not be a thing taken in turns among the rich of you," because that would make it easy for the devil to make man forget mention of his lord: "Surely man waxes insolent, for he thinks himself self-sufficient" "Poverty is almost apostasy." Blatant wealth and wretched poverty provoke apostasy.

3. The means of ownership must not involve injustice to people. Among the categories of prohibited injustice are usury ("God has permitted selling and prohibited usury"), monopolization ("Whoever engages in monopolization is a tyrant"), fraud ("Whoever defrauds us is not one of us"), games of chance, gambling, blatant ignorance and injustice to workers: "I am the adversary of three persons on judgment day, one [missing], two [missing] and a man who hired a wage earner, received from him in full, and did not pay him his wage." The different aspects of injustice are many; Islam has prohibited them, and the Muslims must prohibit all types of injustice which are newly created: "Consume not your goods between you in vanity."

4. The different aspects of the spending of wealth must be in accordance with the teachings of Islam. They include aspects which are prohibited, such as gambling, liquor and bribes, aspects which are obligatory, such as the tithe, and aspects which are recommended, such as spending on donations.

5. Individual ownership is subject to the rule which the tradition of the prophet contained: it is not harmful or deleterious, and is in accordance with the interests of the group. It is true that this is said to be social, not collective or individual, ownership, because wealth in essence is not the property of the group or the state, as Communism says, or of individuals, as capitalism says, but is purely God's, the individual has a right to it and the group has a right, and neither of them may be unjust to the other unless it comes to pass that unquestionable harm for example will befall the group through ownership of a particular individual. At that time people's interests will rise up, because the magnitude of their numbers has made their right greater, and the state, as a representative of the group, after receiving in full the obligatory rights to money, can take that wealth which resembles blatant differences, for example what our master 'Umar intended to do, or spend on the affairs of Muslims domestically and abroad by imposing additional taxes on the tithe. We can accommodate three [sic], "so it not be a thing taken in turns among the rich of you," by imposing escalating taxes which will enable the government to acquire the sums which will meet the needs of the Muslims from the surplus of the rich, all this in payment of the teachings of Islam, following the statement by the just judiciary, so that this right will not be exploited to treat individuals unfairly. We stated before that normal circumstances do not require the appropriation of individual property, because the firm foundations of faith and brotherhood on which Islamic society is based make that different from the societies we see today, and therefore neither the prophet nor the upright Caliphs appropriated anyone's wealth. Rather, rulings on the appropriation of ownership

are connected to a real necessity, like other rulings which are based on need, such as eating the meat of an animal not slaughtered in accordance with ritual requirements. It is not rational that we should attribute these provisions to Islam without reservations and careful thought.

Land

Did Islam bring about the abrogation of ownership of land and the transfer of land to ownership by the state?

This is a question which we can only answer through the following stipulations of the traditions of the prophet:

First, the traditions cited regarding the ways of exploiting land, among them "Let him who has land farm it, or let his brother harvest it, and if he refuses, let his land be taken," the tradition of Rafi' Ibn Kharaj, "We were the partisans with the most land," and the other traditions which advocate the legality of ownership of land by the prophet's endorsement.

Second, the traditions related to ways of owning land, for example, "Dead land belongs to whoever revives it."

Third, the traditions in which it is proved, in extremely correct traditions, that God's prophet gave land out in fiefdom as private property to the companions, for instance al-Zubayr Ibn al-'Awwam, 'Amr Ibn Harith, Wa'il Ibn Hajar, 'Abd-al-Rahman Ibn 'Awf and other companions.

The ways of exploiting land in Islam are:

1. Farming.

2. Renting out. With respect to this, the most important tradition is that of Rafi' Ibn Kharaj, which Muslim and al-Bukhari produced: "The prophet has not prohibited them from renting out for gold and silver," and, similarly, the tradition of Sa'd Ibn Mu'adh which Imam Ahmad, Abu Da'ud and al-Nisa'i related. We do not want to address ourselves to the detailed provisions on rent; the juridical public has accepted them in principle, although Ibn Hazm has dissented in their regard.

3. Agriculture [sic]. Proof that that was permissible was that the prophet gave to the Jews their land which had devolved upon him through their defeat, provided that they work on it and he share the fruit of it equally with them. That is a famous tradition, and its provision does not just concern our lord Muhammad, on whom be God's prayers and peace; rather, Abu Bakr and 'Umar proceeded on the basis of it at the beginning of the succession to him. Al-Bukhari and Muslim concluded that the partisans, who were the owners of the land, gave it out on temporary sharecropping contract to the people who had fled, who were poor people, on the basis of a third or quarter, provided that the persons who had fled perform all the work. Many companions made temporary sharecropping contracts on their land and therefore most jurists have accepted it, although the Hanafites expressed opposition on it. However, they have no cause, in light of the strong foregoing traditions,

because the traditions which have been cited prohibiting it do not conflict with what they establish, but rather are broken down into two types:

1. A type, cited in the prohibition that a person should make temporary sharecropping contracts, which stipulates a specific portion for the person because of its quality, for example -- as a result of which his portion will produce and what he has apportioned to the worker will not. In this category are the traditions of Rafi' Ibn Khadij "We were the partisans with the most land and we would rent the land out on the basis that we would have this and they would have that. Perhaps the former would produce and the latter would not, and the prophet of God forbade us that. As for paper [sic], he did not forbid us [that]" (al-Bukhari and Muslim); in Rafi's other accounts, they prohibited temporary sharecropping contracts stipulating what grows on Wednesday, what is irrigated in the spring, or licenses, and they did not have any rentals aside from this, according to the accounts of Sanam, Abu Da'ud, al-Nisa'i, Ahmad and al-Bukhari. These places are the good plots which are abundant in water. In the accounts of Asid Ibn al-Tayr, they prohibited farming on temporary sharecropping contracts stipulating small plots or ones irrigated in the spring. In Jabir's account, they made the small ones a condition and in the account of Sa'd Ibn Mu'adh they stipulated for themselves land which would be on water wheels and was blessed with water. The prohibition, in all these accounts, is attached to the stipulation of a specific plot because of the defrauding of workers that that would entail, because they would perhaps realize a loss.

2. The second type of tradition cited regarding the prohibition of farming on temporary sharecropping contract proves the desirability of granting land to the poor without compensation, such as the prophet's tradition "For one of you to give to his brother, it would be best for him to receive a known land tax for it" "Let whoever has land farm it or let his brother harvest it, and if he refuses let his land be taken." The style of these traditions proves that this is something that is recommended, not obligatory, and thus they do not contradict the traditions cited first of all regarding the granting of permission for farming on temporary sharecropping contract. Thus Ibn 'Abbas, explaining these traditions, said "The prophet did not prohibit farming on temporary sharecropping contract and did not forbid it, but stipulated that some of you should be merciful to others." This is how the jurists understood it, and no one said that it was necessary to loan [land] out. Among the examples of temporary sharecropping in our present society is the al-Jazirah project.

4. Trusts and loans: with respect to trusts, the tradition in which the prophet referred [to] 'Uliya, may God be content with him, is that land should be held in trust for the sake of God, and many companions did so.

One can refer back to the books on the jurisprudence of the traditions and the books of the creeds to investigate the abovementioned rulings. Whatever the dispute over them might be, the general principle is not the abrogation of land ownership; rather, the talk revolves about making the means of exploitation legal or restricting them.

In application of the principle "no harm and no damage," one can determine a maximum or minimum for land ownership to eliminate blatant differences in

the distribution of ownership, to make the full exploitation of all the land possible. At that point we might mention the point we raised, to the effect that the land does not belong to the individual, as in capitalism, or to the state, as in Communism, but is God's, and is governed by the just judiciary.

It remains for us to refer to juridical views related to the right of ownership of land which Muslims seize by force. Here al-Shafi'i considers that it can be split up as spoils, in the light of the verse of The Booty: "Know that whatever booty you take the half [sic] of it is God's," and so forth. Abu Hanifah considers that it is left to the discretion of the imam whether he wishes to divide it up or hold it in trust for the Muslims, and Malik considers that it should be in trust for the Muslims, at which point it should be left to its owners to farm it and should not be appropriated from them, but they should pay a land-tax on it which will be used in the interests of the Muslims. This is what our master 'Umar did with the rural land of Iraq, and he was not in violation of the stipulations cited; rather, he acted on the verse "Whatever spoils of war God has given to his prophet from the people of the cities belongs to God... the poor emigrants... and those who made their dwelling in the abode, and in belief, before them... and those who came after them." By the method which 'Umar, may God be content with him, followed, he could make a share on the land for the final category, and there was no appropriation of ownership. Whatever the situation may have been, these provisions are applied to land conquered by force, but the land of the Sudan was not conquered by force; rather, it entered Islam through the infiltration of Muslims, and there is no room for such a discussion. Rather, the land belongs to the people who own it now, unless necessity calls, as we stated above regarding the provisions on necessity.

In summary, individuals can own land and exploit it by themselves. It is better that the owner exploit it himself or give it to his brothers, but he can rent it out and rent it out on temporary sharecropping contract, in spite of the dispute that exists. At this point it is necessary that we mention the nature of Islamic society, which is dominated by belief in God and brotherhood and is distinguished by the distinctive characteristics of which we made mention when talking about individual ownership, and thus differs from the societies in which the exploitation of land at the hands of individuals causes great social corruption. The jurists give Muslim society a right which other societies do not have. Finally, it is permissible to limit ownership and it is permissible to compel an owner to sell his land for public benefit if genuine necessity requires. This is the procedure, and God is most knowing.

General Comments

Before we complete this chapter, we must refer to two important facts:

First, justice or economic happiness in Islam is not an end in itself but is a means to a greater end, which is the worship of God, so that people will not be diverted by their material needs from this worship. Since belief in God has a significance which takes precedence over the worship of God, and directly affects the happiness or hardship of people, the obligation of Islamic groups is that they devote greater space to belief in God in their

constitutions and practical lives, because that is the focal point around which the life of Islamic society revolves.

Second, the solution of the economic problem cannot end conflict among individuals in the world. In Russia, money has lost its value, over which conflict takes place, and the element of evil in atheistic man has assumed another form which is embodied in the struggle over power and rule. Thus we see that we cannot extinguish the instincts of evil in men by depriving them of a single outlet, because they will not lack other outlets. However, the obligation of Islamic groups is that they uproot the instincts of evil in the spirit of man in toto, by strengthening the instincts of good which derive from faith in God, observing him and mentioning him in every case. At that point only will it be possible for love, brotherhood and peace to dominate the world.

The International Policies of the Islamic Peoples

Islam divides the earth into two parts, the realm of Islam, which is the place in which the provisions of Islam regarding all aspects of life in terms of society, economy, culture, and politics hold sway, and the other part, which is what is dominated by descriptive [sic] legal systems of various types, which the jurists call the part of the realm of war.

The Muslims' relationship to others is basically a relationship of peace, in terms of the international consideration "God forbids you not, as regards those who have [not] fought you in religion's cause, and have not expelled you from your dwellings, that you should be kindly to them and act justly toward them; surely God loves the just" "And if they incline to peace, incline to it." However, this general provision is subject to the following rules:

First, since the realm of war consists not of Islamic countries in which the provisions of Islam are applied in accordance with what God has revealed, the message of the Muslims must be directed toward these countries in order to liberate them from the conditions prevailing in them.

Second, the Muslims are required, by Islamic law, not to commence aggression against anyone: "But do not commit aggression: God loves not the aggressors."

Third, if the people of the realm of war commit aggression against a single grain of the realm of peace, the Muslims must all rush forward to repel the aggression in kind: "Whoever commits aggression against you, commit aggression against him like as he has committed against you."

Fourth, if the people of the realm of war cause Muslims to be enticed away from their religion, expressly declare aggression against us and slander the religion, we must fight them.

If we apply these rules to our situation today, we will find that the first rule applies to the Eastern and Western bloc and that the difference in systems between them does not mean anything, because they are all based on a

materialistic philosophy which renounces religion and the truth of the prophet of God. All of atheism is a single nation and one must not be loyal to people who renounce God: "You who believe, take not for friends a people against whom God is wrathful."

The third rule applies to the two camps. The West is now squatting on the chest of many Islamic peoples and the East holds sway over Muslim Turkistan, is exuding its poisons and is spreading its agents about to take over every Muslim country. Palestine contains a corroboration of the holy verse: "Those who disbelieve are friends of one another," although their statements may be in agreement with us and they may disagree with one another in terms of their food and their wants. God almighty said "Fight for the sake of God those who fight you" and ordered us to do that until their aggression against Muslims is overturned in ignominy and contempt: "Fight those who believe not in God and the judgment day and do not forbid what God and his prophet have forbidden -- such men as practice not the religion of truth, being among those who have been given the book -- until they pay the tribute by a hand and have been humbled."

The fourth rule applies to the two blocs. We all know what the French are doing in North Africa, what the English are doing in their colonies, and what the Russians are doing to the Muslims in the countries they dominate: "Fight them, till there is no persecution and the religion is God's" "God forbids you as regards those who have fought you in religion's cause, and expelled you from your homes, and have supported in your expulsion taking them as friends; and whoever takes them as friends, those are the evil-doers."

"Believers, take not my enemy and your enemy for friends, offering them love."

Therefore, we cannot single out the Western camp for hostility and be quiet about the Eastern camp, as if it is a friend of Islam which does not slander it on grounds of reaction and anesthetizing peoples, does not dispossess and torture Muslims and does not kill them in Crimea, Turkistan and the Caucasus. Likewise, it is not permissible to single out the Eastern camp for enmity alone.

It is obligatory for us that we harbor enmity against both camps, and, if we cannot fight them seriously in order to repulse their aggression, we must do as much of that as we can by rejecting their materialist philosophy which is inimical to Islam, and we must not be loyal to either of them in war or struggle, in light of the holy verse: "Let not the Muslims take the unbelievers for friends, rather than the believers -- for whoever does that belongs not to God in any respect -- unless you have a fear of them. God warns you that you be aware of him, for destiny is with God." The position of the early Muslims regarding the atheistic camp of the Persians to the East and the atheistic camp of the Byzantines to the West was thus, and the blocs of the 20th century are similar to those of the seventh century and an extension of them.

Nationalism

A historic phenomenon which Western colonialism has abused in misleading Muslims and fragmenting their statements is that of nationalism (1). We can perhaps see the effects of this tendency in many parties and political bodies which restrict their thinking and action to the place in which they live, while their view does not exceed these artificial boundaries which colonialism has set out. However, we consider:

First, that need requires that the efforts of the Islamic groups be restricted in their first stages to the countries in which they arose, because from the practical standpoint they cannot spread about their modest efforts among other countries, far from the places where they arose, which are alien to their experiences in life, as the appeal of the prophet of God, on whom be God's prayers and peace, was characterized at the start of its activity by the special care which it directed to the mother of villages [Medinah] and what was around it: "The prophet resides in Quraysh, as the first verses from Mecca point out."

Second, that thinking about Islamic unity now must not mean that the present corrupt governments should be associated in a manner making them a unified force which will enable them to destroy the Islamic movements, eliminate the Islamic resurgence, destroy the freedoms of the Islamic peoples and give strength to conditions which violate Islam.

Third, that the true unity of the Islamic peoples does not mean that the peoples should lose their attributes and characteristics, in order to be merged into a single entity from which many corrupt practices might arise; rather, it means that all the peoples should meet in a single organization resembling the international organizations of today and the peoples should relinquish some of their sovereignty to this organization immediately upon their choice, which will originate from their belief that the nation of Islam is a single one, and their failure to recognize the geographic boundaries which colonialism has set out for its own interests and to split the Muslims apart. In spite of all the foregoing, we consider that the Islamic movements must have an international perspective and be concerned with the affairs of Muslims in all areas of the world; otherwise, they will not be

(1) The stand of nationalism is a normal one; it is in reality an extension of the individual's sense of his own identity and his love for himself, and there is nothing wrong in that when its goal is to make the nation feel its identity, defend its attributes and develop its particular qualities for the good of all mankind, not for the good of the homes [sic] themselves. On this basis, Islam considers nationalism to be a normal stand: "Mankind, we have created you male and female, and appointed you races and tribes, so that you may know one another. Surely the noblest among you to God is the most god-fearing of you." When the stand of nationalism is transformed into a type of selfishness and racist fanaticism, Islam fights it, because the good and virtue of mankind is above individuals and above fanatical peoples. The nationalism which colonialism has sought to support in the Islamic world is of the latter category, which causes nations to fail to look beyond their own political boundaries.

among them, as the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, says. The Muslims, as stated in the heart of the Chapter on the Greeks, were concerned with the events of the world and eagerly awaited the day when the Greeks of the book won over the Persian Magi. It is more worthy for us to be concerned with the affairs of Muslims in the whole world.

We must also understand that our being in a specific country does not exempt us from the responsibility of liberating the Islamic world. If circumstances demand that we liberate Morocco or Palestine, we are given the duty of hastening to these countries for holy war for the sake of God.

We must also be wary of fighting the nationalist position on which all the liberation movements in the countries of Islam are founded, whose intensity is increased by the struggle for the sake of freedom from colonialism. The adoption of this road to freedom will result in conditions which many Islamic countries have attained. Our obligation is to have the Muslim peoples' effort be on Islam's behalf so that they will attain Islam finally. We advise the Brothers to read Mr al-Mawdudi concerning nationalism in India.

The Platform of Thinking in Islam

After the golden age of Islamic jurisprudence, dark eras of imitation and paralysis passed over Islamic thought. One of the worst effects of these eras was the extremist reaction which appeared among some thinkers in Islam. When they found imitation loathsome, they went to excess with innovation and invention, to the point where they violated the principles of Islam in the holy book and the sayings and doings of the prophet; when they found paralysis loathsome, they went to the farthest limits of boldness in jurisprudence and ended up in chaos in the exercise of opinions.

Added to the reaction was another factor of more extreme gravity, and that was that foreign cultures had invaded the lands of Islam to the point where they dominated them. Some Muslims saw principles and theories in these cultures which attracted them and took hold of their minds, and their stubborn stand toward Islam hampered them from measuring these principles by the standard of their religion so that they might reject what was depraved and take what was good. By the time they returned to their religion, these cultures had taken possession of them, they believed that they were they were the absolute truth, and they embarked on the teaching of religion, interpreting verses and ignoring the true sayings and doings of the prophet, to the point where they managed to rework Islam so that it would be in agreement with the guidance of the era and subject to the law of development. Here we would like to address ourselves to some of the literature of individual theorizing and thinking about Islam, so that we will not follow caprice and it will not lead us away from God's path.

1. The provisions of Islamic law are not prone to the notion of development. We are not allowed to replace any provision which has been categorically established by the verses of the holy book and the sayings and doings of the prophet with our opinion and individual thinking, because Islamic law addresses itself to eternal general principles. When we do address ourselves to the detailed exposition of some provisions, that is because they are

provisions which are not connected to time and place, because they are basic provisions from whose change the destruction of the pillars of Islamic society will come about or because the legislators wished to eliminate the causes of dispute and difference regarding them. The three examples of these types which have been analyzed in detail are the provisions on worship, the provisions on the family and the provisions on inheritance. Islamic jurisprudence, which consists of the views of the companions of the prophet and the jurists in their treatment of the detailed conditions of life, accepts development and change, and indeed considers it necessary; we see no need to mention the verses and prophetic traditions which prove that the correct stipulations of Islam are binding on Muslims in every place and every time.

2. There are conditions which the person engaging in individual theorizing must meet so that we may be permitted to give weight to his view. When it is said that individual theorizing is a collective obligation on the Muslims, and each Muslim who has reached that degree is guaranteed that, this does not mean that we should make it an obligation on which there is no system or restriction. It obliges the person engaging in individual theorizing to be versed in the provisions of the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet and to be capable of understanding the significance of Arabic terms, and he must be knowledgeable in the lore of statements of Muslim theorists and others so that his horizon will expand. It also compels him thoroughly to know the society for which he is legislating. Theorizing out of ignorance is one of the greatest of sins, because that is speaking about God without knowledge. Consider the extent to which that is prohibited in the holy verse: "Say, 'My lord has only forbidden indecencies, the outer and the inner, sin, and unjust insolence, and that you worship along with God that for which he has not sent down authority, and that you say about God what you do not know,' and ponder this threat 'And do not say, as to what your tongues falsely describe, 'This is lawful and this is forbidden,' so that you may devise falsehoods against God; those who devise falsehoods against God will not prosper -- a little enjoyment, then a painful chastisement will be theirs."

3. The Muslim cannot form an opinion before referring to the holy book and the sayings and doings of the prophet: "Believers, obey God and obey the prophet and those in authority among you. If you should quarrel over anything, refer it to God and the prophet, if you believe in God and the judgment day; that is better for you and the best interpretation." Otherwise, we will subject the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet to our own caprice, which we fashioned before referring to them: "It is not for any male believer or female believer, if God and his prophet have decreed a matter, to have the choice regarding their affair." In the ancient and modern history of Islam, there are many examples of intellectual movements which do not refer to the holy book or the sayings and doings of the prophet except to support the creeds they have embraced in advance; they adopt that whose external appearance is in agreement with them, and they deal with that which differs with them through interpretation, if it is from the Koran, or through neglect, if it is from the sayings and doings of the prophet. One ancient example is the science of theology, which the Muslims adopted from the philosophy and logic of the Greeks, and one modern example is the science of economics, in which Muslims are confused as between capitalism and

Communism. The sayings and doings of the prophet, specifically, have been the target of a severe attack from these people because they are more detailed and specific, making it more difficult to interpret the meanings in them, and some of the people who have been led astray have neglected them. In ancient times our lord 'Umar said "The people with opinions have become the enemies of the sayings and doings of the prophet. The prophet's traditions have defeated their skills in memorization and made them fail to be knowledgeable about them. They have announced the opinions they preferred and have been led astray." Some others ignored them and forgot the statement of almighty God: "But no, by thy lord! They will not believe till they make you the judge regarding the disagreement that has arisen between them, then they will find in themselves no impediment regarding the verdict you have made, but shall surrender in full submission." All this is only because these people restrict themselves to those teachings of Islam which are in keeping with the guidance of the age, and these people refuse to remember that they have been ordered to be obedient, even with respect to those things whose provisions they are ignorant of: "But had we prescribed for them 'Kill yourselves' or 'Leave your homes,' they would not have done it, save a few of them, and if they had done as they were ordered, it would have been better for them and a more intense proof." This is because if we can always subject our minds to arbitration the prophet would not have been sent down and the holy book would not have been revealed, and if the truth followed our caprices, the heavens and earth would have been corrupted. The proper platform for the exercise of opinion is to turn to it after the Koran and the sayings and doings of the prophet. This is what the prophet of God told Ma'adh Ibn Jabal when he sent him to Yemen, that he should invoke the judgment of God's book and if he did not find [that], the sayings and doings of the prophet, and if he did not find [that], he should exercise his individual opinion. 'Umar told Sharih the judge: "Do not ask about what has manifested itself to you from God's book, and if it has not manifested itself in God's book, then from the sayings and doings of the prophet, and if you do not find it, exercise your individual opinion."

Let it not be considered a cardinal sin that this platform should lead to the paralysis of Islamic thinking. We know that the sciences of jurisprudence, which are the most developed, advanced and prosperous sciences in Islam, have committed themselves to this platform in thinking, and the jurists have not derived these sciences from foreign cultures.

5. The opinion which the proper Islamic platforms follow in using it is one in which error and correctness are permissible. Since the era of the companions of the prophet, the shield of individual thinkers has been this statement: "This has been my opinion, which I have considered appropriate, and if it is correct, that is due to God, and if it is in error, that is due to me and the devil." We have not in the history of Islam known of any individual theorist who claimed that his view was Islam and represented the will of God, and that anything beside it was error and deception, and we have not known any early individual theorist who was fanatical about his opinion and described others as ignorant. Indeed, they were innocent of the consequences of commitment to their views and traditions and refused to force people to come over to their side, as Malik did with al-Muwatta'. Indeed, they were individual thinkers in a scholarly atmosphere filled with brotherhood and trust.

6. The pursuit of individual thinking is not an individual obligation to which every Muslim is held; it is an obligation which a segment of Muslims performs: "Why should not a party of every section of them go forth, to become learned in religion, and to warn their people when they return to them?" It is a mistake for every Muslim to make himself a source of reference for Islam, and it is not a duty for us to make rulings for people regarding things we do not know, even if people need to understand Islam. It might be in the interests of the call to explain Islam in a precise, detailed manner so that each of the issues of the modern era will be faced, but that means only that we should redouble efforts to understand Islam and then explain it to the people. It does not mean that we should legislate [sic] to the people what they want even though we are in a state of ignorance. When almighty God prohibited Muslims from concealing a science of which they had (actual) knowledge, he prohibited the rendering of judgment without knowledge by means of the above verses, and after that put that on a rank with polytheism. We cannot allege that we are looking after the interests of the call and serving Islam by perpetrating what God has prohibited.

The Platform of Action in Islam

Muslims find a pressing desire in the modern Islamic resurgence to act for the sake of Islam, but at the same time they are ignorant of the literature of the appeal to God and action to advance his word. This literature is derived from the biography of the prophet, from the verses of the Koran and from the biographies of the history of the men of Islam, and these are all subjects on which thorough research has not yet been done.

In addition to ignorance about Islam and the difficulty of understanding it, we find that foreign cultures are easily accessible -- indeed, they themselves rush upon us in the most intensely alluring, enticing forms. The proselytizers of Islam can only be greatly affected by these cultures, because they make an impression on their empty minds, and thus they are guided by these cultures in their work on Islam's behalf. These platforms that have been derived from Western culture become a part of their spirits, because they are the most modern means for spreading about and giving potency to the appeals. They amend their understanding of Islam in accordance with this and Islam becomes a goal toward which they strive by various ways and means. While they wanted to call people to Islam and encourage them regarding its teachings, they used means to that end which are not compatible with the spirit of Islam and on some occasions they were not lacking in a type of deception and hypocrisy. If they want money from which to spend for the sake of God they do not hesitate to collect it by various means which Islam might not advocate, and if they want to win public opinion over to the side of Islam, they flatter the emotions of the masses and portray Islam to them in a manner which satisfies their whim.

You all know, Brothers, that this is not Islam, but is rather the clothing of truth in falsehood, whose cause is ignorance and whose ornamentation is Satan. In order for us to avoid these dangerous pitfalls, we must first of all accept Islam so that we can become educated and work with what we have learned. Here we would like to draw attention to the following:

First, that the sources from which we learn the literature of acting on behalf of Islam must themselves be from Islam, and that Islam consists only of teachings which exist in the holy book and the sayings and doings of the prophet. We must carry out those teachings we can and realize that Islam is a lofty objective for which means must be adopted which are in keeping with its loftiness; otherwise, what is the meaning of the comprehensiveness and perfection of Islam, if it does not include the means by which we can serve it? The sources of knowledge, in this regard, are the biography of the prophet, in which we find how the prophet appeals to people and deals with the difficulties that press upon them; all the Koran is guidance toward God's path, and the biographies of great men of Islam contain things which will illuminate some of the road for us. We will indeed find in all this the principles through which, with our individual theorizing, we will then be able to derive the practical platforms for the resurgence of Islam. Thus said the prophet: "The last of this nation will be corrected only by what the first of it was corrected by."

Second, God is good and accepts only the good, and we cannot draw close to him by perpetrating his forbidden things. That is something which intuitive understanding requires. We have been assigned the responsibility of exerting ourselves and working, and the results of our effort are in God's hand: "It is only for the prophet to deliver the manifest message." We must give the people an explicit appeal for faith; let him who wants to believe do so, and let him who wants to disbelieve do so. We must spend good earnings even if we do not find something to spend, and buy the hearts of people with alms and trust, not by flattering their emotions and satisfying their whims. Thus we will be performing God's due and carrying out his instructions, even if we do not meet with success, because that is in God's hand. Let us remember that most prophets gave true individual thought to the appeal, and only a few were granted security; the rest were killed or expelled from their homes.

Third, devious methods can only lead to devious ends, and if we take the means of Communism as an example, those will not bring us to Islam. Let us beware of this allure, which has become greatly widespread among the Muslims: "And that this is my path, straight; so follow it, and do not follow paths which will scatter you from his path."

Fourth, when we work for the sake of Islam, that must always issue forth from what our faith requires, and not be inspired by what people consider good. It is ignorance for us to imitate others before we measure their acts by the criteria of Islam. In ancient times, the people of Israel told Moses, when they passed by a people who were assiduously devoted to their idols, "Make us a goddess as they have a goddess." The Muslims told the prophet, when they passed by the tree which idolaters held sacred, "Make us the same patterns as the patterns they have." People must not even provoke us to acts which do not differ in nature from our appeal; otherwise, they will issue forth from us as a result of frivolity and recklessness: "So be thou patient: surely God's promise is true, and let not those who have not sure faith make you unsteady."

In addition, Brothers, let us always point out that our call is a divine appeal and that we are calling people to a faith and that it is over that

which we can bring them together, not over their material demands. Rather, we are calling them to the truth, and whether they accept or turn their backs, we will promise them only the comfort that resides in the paradise of the hereafter, if they sell their happiness, their spirits and their money for the sake of God.

Return to Islam, Brothers, judge well, then work with what you have learned from it; God will not waste the wages of the people who have performed good work. We ask God to forgive us our sins and guide us toward the path.

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2. Mr Hamid 'Umar al-Imam, time of the interview 30 November. One of the people who was a contemporary of Islamic action from his first stages in the forties to this day. He was among the front's candidates for the graduates' districts in 1965.
3. Mr Sulayman Sa'id, time of the interview Monday 27 November 1978. Chairman of the Mechanical Transportation Workers' Union, 1965-66.
4. Mr 'Uthman Jadallah, time of the interview Saturday 25 December 1978. Former parliamentary deputy and a pillar of the al-Ummah Party, al-Sadiq's wing.
5. Dr Mustafa Khujali, time of the interview Sunday 26 November 1978. University professor, Geography branch.
6. Mr Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, a graduate of the Faculty of Law, Cairo University (the parent), editor in chief of the newspaper AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN and the newspaper AL-MITHAQ, and former parliamentary deputy. (We held three interviews with him.)
7. Mr Muhammad Yusuf Muhammad the lawyer (a leader of the Islamic liberation movement and former parliamentary deputy). One interview, Tuesday 28 November 1978.
8. Mr Muhammad Khayr 'Abd-al-Qadir, time of the interview Sunday 26 December 1978, graduate of the Faculty of Letters, Cairo University (the parent), 1954. Now working in the African Development Bank.

9. Mr Mirghani al-Nasri (a leader of the Islamic liberation movement, now chief of the Lawyers' Union). One interview.

10. 'Abbas Hasan al-Tum (former secretary of the Post and Telegraph Workers' Union and old-time Brother). One interview.

11. 'Ali Taliballah (we introduced him at the beginning).

12. Al-Rashid al-Tahir Bakr (three interviews).

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